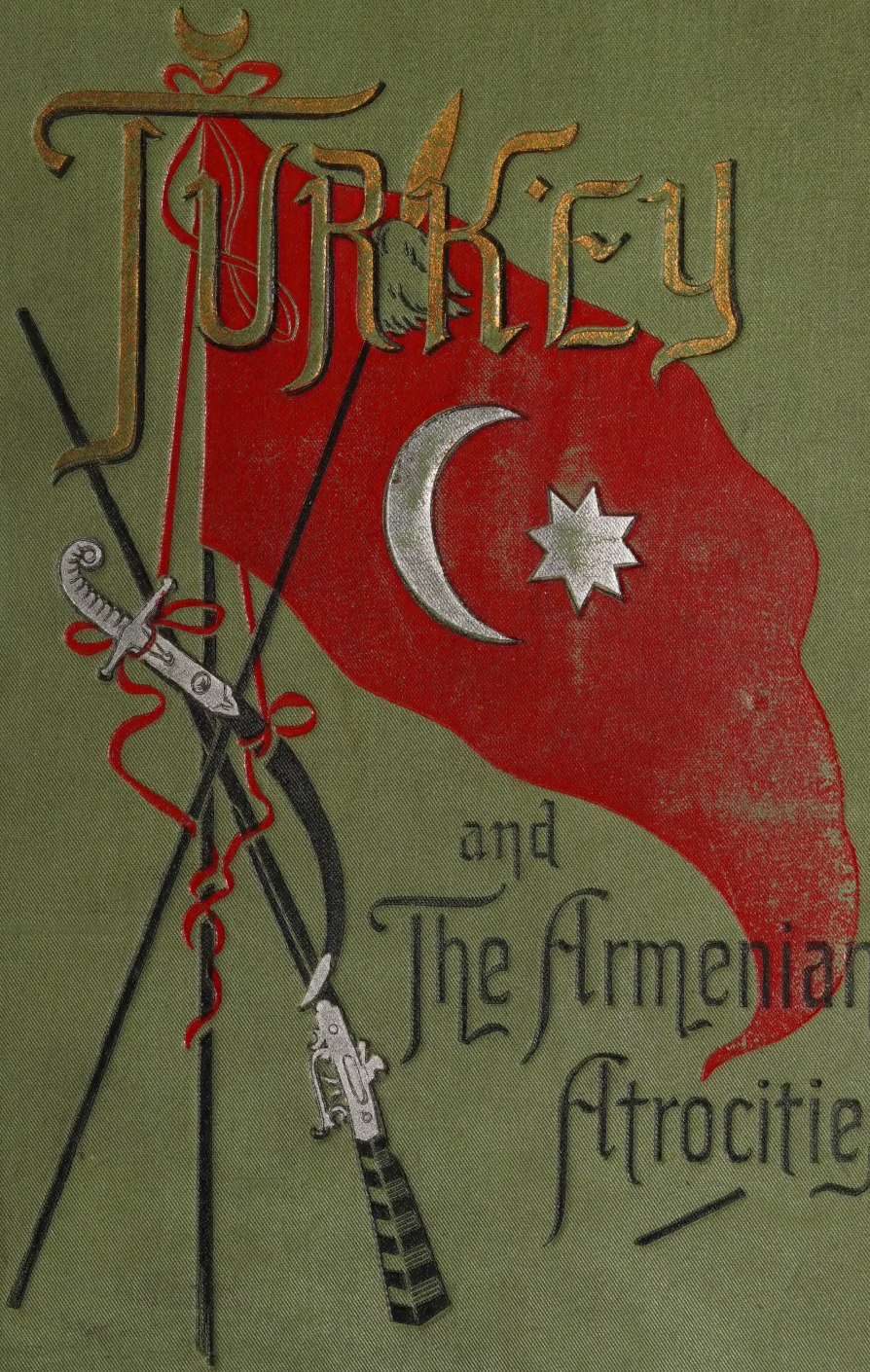
TURKEY



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The Armenian Atrocities

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PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE. The ecclesiastical head of the Armenians is the Catholicos residing at Etchmiadzine, in the Caucasus. Of the same rank are the Catholicos of Aghtamar (near Van) and the Catholicos of Sis, in Cilicia. Next come the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, the former taking precedence as the civil head of the Armenians in Turkey.

TURKEY

AND

THE ARMENIAN ATROCITIES

A REIGN OF TERROR.

FROM TARTAR HUTS TO CONSTANTINOPLE PALACES.

CENTURIES OF OPPRESSION—MOSLEM AND CHRISTIAN—SULTAN AND PATRIARCH—BROKEN PLEDGES FOLLOWED BY MASSACRE AND OUTRAGE.

THE RED CROSS TO THE RESCUE.

BY THE

REV. EDWIN MUNSELL BLISS,

Late of Constantinople,

Editor of ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF MISSIONS; Assistant Editor of THE INDEPENDENT,

ASSISTED BY

The REV. CYRUS HAMLIN, D. D., Founder of Robert College; PROF. E. A. GROSVENOR, of Amherst College; REV. BENJAMIN LABAREE, D. D., late of Persia, and Other Eminent Oriental Scholars; also Several Eye-Witnesses of the Massacres.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

MISS FRANCES E. WILLARD.

FULLY ILLUSTRATED.

EDGEWOOD PUBLISHING COMPANY.

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INTRODUCTION.

WE need a new angle of vision on the martyrdoms in Armenia. Let us suppose that we had never heard anything about them and that on next Sunday morning, in our respective churches, our respective pastors should come forward with a statement like the following :—

Near the foot of a famous mountain there lived 1500 years ago, in a little country about 400 miles square, a people numbering, perhaps, 3,000,000. In the turmoil of the centuries they had been scattered until their ancestral valleys and mountain slopes have largely passed into other hands. They still preserve, however, the racial characteristics of that early time, and look back with intense yearning to that olden time and those familiar places.

In face, figure and bearing, they are remarkably attractive. It is said that their personal resemblance to the supposed physical type of our Lord is probably more striking than that of any other race. In the simplicity of their faith and the earnestness of their character, these people are reminders of the early Christian Church. The bravery of their men and the chastity of their women are proverbial. They cherish the Bible as the most precious of their possessions and guard it all the more sacredly when to do so involves the hazard of their lives. They are unarmed and do harm to none, they only seek to tend their flocks, till their fields, and conduct their trade in quietness and peace.

Their country is controlled by a rich and powerful potentate of another race, who with his court and his army would be neither cruel nor vindictive except for their religion. They are Mohammedans and

have been taught for centuries that a Christian slain was the surest passport to the favor of God and the enjoyment of eternal happiness. Under the insane spell of this awful fanaticism, they have come down like wolves on the gentle Christian people under their sway, and within the last year have slaughtered men, women and children without mercy, not for any wrong that they have done, but only because they are Christians. Their villages and homes have been burned to the ground and such ingenuity of torture and outrage inflicted upon them as could hardly have been excelled if the bottomless pit had vomited forth its leading spirits to urge the battle on.

The cruelty towards priests and women, the two non-combatant classes, has been bitterest of all. Because the priest represented the detested religion of Christ, he has been not only slain but mutilated, and the sign of the cross cut in his forehead by murderous swords, and because Mohammedans believe before all things in the harem rather than the home, a brutal soldiery has spared neither the wife, the mother, nor the babe unborn. Outrages worse than death have been endured by women, always preceded by the promise that they would be spared if they would abjure their faith, but in no instance have they hesitated to face their double agony rather than disclaim allegiance to the Cross.

Now, in the presence of such a spectacle as this, with the martyrdom of a devoted nation going forward under their eyes, the men of Christendom have stood by and watched these agonies; have seen a crowd of gentle Christian women shut up in a church and undergoing a night of outrage ending in murder, the streams of blood flowing out under the church doors; they have stood by while Moslem savages deliberately disemboweled Christian mothers and brought into a world accursed, innocent babes which were taken on the points of bayonets and sportively tossed to and fro; they have passively beheld the massacre of fifty thousand Christian people in the slowly-rounded circle of a year.

Suppose that this were said in every Christian pulpit next Sunday morning, with what righteous anger and holy indignation would the congregation rise up exclaiming: "Where are these outrages? Who are the

dastards that stand by watching the slow martyrdom of a nation whose only fault is its loyalty to the Gospel that we profess ? "

And then should come the answer that Nathan uttered in the face of David: pointing to America, England, the Christian nations of the continent of Europe, " Thou art the man ! " It is you that are standing by like the traitors of old and consenting to the death of those who in an age of spiritual apathy are sealing with the blood of martyrdom their holy allegiance to " the faith once delivered to the saints."

This is the situation: Armenians are the nation; the Sultan and his soldiers are the devil's scourge; the Anglo-Saxon race is the cold-hearted spectator.

In saying this I am not upbraiding any person high in power, not singling out any nation as more guilty than the rest. For in this crisis mere criticism would be futile. What we must have is action; united, cogent and immediate; we must not stand upon the order of our going, but go at once, drawn by the compulsion of what is best and most enduring in our natures, even " the tie that binds " us to the assertion and proof of a common humanity and a " like precious faith " in Christ. We have waited a year, and now across the horrid front of war gleams the white figure of a woman. Clara Barton, the angel of the battlefield, takes upon herself the heavenly task of going to Turkey to represent the forces of the Golden Rule and of the Home which is their outcome.

In the long and bloody annals of the Sultan's country, two figures brighten the scene, two names breathe benediction—Florence Nightingale and Clara Barton, the fairest flowers of English and American Christianity. Women may well be grateful that their sex has placed in the sky where the crescent is fading into darkness the two brightest stars of hope that shall glow in history's constellation.

Americans have given costly hostages to the Turk. No band of men and women more heroic have lived since the Great Light shone forth out of Jerusalem, than our Missionaries in the land of the harem.

The record of their danger, suffering and death is only second to that of the beloved Armenians whose devotion has rewarded their heroic

toil. Their colleges and schools, churches and hospitals have passed under the withering blight of the Mohammedan.

In the present desperate emergency, the work of Miss Kimball in the devastated city of Van will be chronicled on the fairest pages where the bravery of Christian women is described.

The record that follows is given us by a noble young American, the son of Isaac G. Bliss, D. D., that statesman-like Missionary whose name has been endeared to the Christian Church for well nigh half a century by reason of his wise and unremitting labors. The appearance of this book is opportune, and its moderation of tone will commend it to all thoughtful readers. For we do not wish to hate the Turk or impale him on the point of rapier-like epithets. He is what the centuries have made him, and like Saul of Tarsus who became Paul of Damascus, he "verily thinks that he doeth God service." Superstition and fanaticism have been in all ages the most deadly foes of the human race. Under their withering breath the Armenians seem likely to be swept out of existence. Surely such an illustration, surviving in a century when "sweet reasonableness" and universal toleration have made more rapid strides than in any that has preceded it, should nerve the will of every Christian man and woman to defend our Mission and our Missionaries, whose work alone can disinfect the land of the scimitar from its awful taint, and disintegrate by means of education the public opinion that prefers the harem to the home and the Koran of Mohammed to the New Testament of Christ.

En route in the Southern States,
January 15, 1896.

FRANCES E. WILLARD.

PREFACE.

THE object of this book is not merely to set forth the situation in Turkey as it is to-day, but to trace the influences that have produced it. Those influences are very complex. They include the social characteristics of the peoples of Turkey, the religious beliefs and ecclesiastical customs that have grown up in the empire during the past centuries, the political ambitions and jealousies of the European Powers, and the personal qualities of the different men who have been prominent in the control of affairs. Probably no chapter in history is more kaleidoscopic in its character. To set forth its various phases, the topical rather than the strictly historical form has been adopted. The effort has been made to let each phase stand out as clearly as possible, first in itself, and then in its relation to the other phases. The contemporary historian is never logical. That remains for those who, with longer range, have a better perspective.

The various histories of Turkey have been consulted, but special acknowledgment must be made to "Turkey Old and New," by Sutherland Menzies, which more than any other traces the development of the Eastern Question from the standpoint of the European Powers. "The Life of Lord

Stratford de Redcliffe," by Stanley Lane Poole, "Turkish Life in War Time," by Henry O. Dwight, and Dr. Cyrus Hamlin's books, "My Life and Times" and "Among the Turks," have been consulted with great advantage. It is a privilege not less than a duty to acknowledge the very efficient aid rendered by Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, Dr. Benjamin Labaree and Professor E. A. Grosvenor. Dr. Hamlin's vivid remembrance of the picturesque phases of Turkish diplomacy during the reigns of Mahmud II and Abd-ul-Medjid; Dr. Labaree's scholarly as well as practical knowledge of branches of the Eastern Church which to most are little more than historic names; Professor Grosvenor's intimate acquaintance with, and sympathetic appreciation of, the Greek life and character, have laid me under peculiar obligations to each. I must also express my thanks to those who from the very center of the conflict have given those sketches which describe so vividly the terror of the situation. Some of the letters appear for the first time on these pages; others have been already given to the world in the columns of *The Independent* and the daily press. Their authors I know well and esteem most highly for their great ability and high character, which has been most nobly manifest during the trying scenes of the past year. As I write these lines word has come of the death of one and of the critical condition of another. They have been urged to leave their posts, but one and all they have refused, with the exception of a very few who, in their own physical weakness, have felt that they could not strengthen their associates. Turkey and Russia are banded together to force them to leave; the former that they may not bear witness against the evil done; the latter that they may not hinder the progress

of that policy of repression already applied to Evangelical thought throughout her empire.

What is in the future no man can tell, but the growth of pure religion in whatever form of church organization; the development of freedom of thought; the attainment of civil liberty, and that not merely for Armenian, but for Greek, Nestorian, Jacobite, and even for the Turk himself, depends upon the continuance of the influences for a higher life that have been at work during the past sixty years, and that depends upon the missionaries being supported at their posts. Theirs is no sectarian work. They stand as the friends of Gregorian Armenians, Roman Catholic Chaldeans, Nestorians and Jacobites as well as of those in closer affiliation with the Protestant Churches of Europe and America. America should stand by them and demand their full protection. It is our right by treaty; it is our right by the duty we owe humanity, by the duty we owe to our tradition as a liberty loving nation. We have no political ends to serve; we want not a square foot of the Sultan's domains; but we stand, as we have always stood, for freedom for the oppressed, for the right of every man to worship his God in the light of his own conscience.

EDWIN MUNSELL BLISS.

New York City,
March 21st, 1896.

Red—District Where Massacres Occurred.

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VIEW OF MOUNT ARARAT. This is taken from a celebrated painting, not from a photograph, but is, perhaps, even better than a photographic view as it sets out the peculiar nature of the country. In the foreground is a caravan of camels such as is found less and less frequently, most of the merchandise being now carried upon mules or horses, or in wagons.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE GARDENS OF VAN. The hill in the background is the Acropolis, occupying the site of the ancient city, which dates back beyond the time of Christ. The light trees in the foreground are poplars, which are planted in numbers where the e are streams, to furnish timber for the houses.

CHAPTER I.

The Turkish Empire.

Geographical Extent—Topography—Physical Characteristics—Products—Traveling and Transportation—Building.

THE Turkish Empire at the beginning of 1896 included: in Europe, Albania, Macedonia, and the southeastern portion of the Balkan Peninsula; in Asia, Asia Minor, Eastern Turkey or Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, Syria, and a comparatively small section of Southern Arabia. In nominal subjection was the large African province of Tripoli, while Egypt and Bulgaria were reckoned as tributary States. The total area may be estimated as follows:

IMMEDIATE POSSESSIONS.

Europe	63,850	square miles.
Asia	729,170	" "
Total	793,020	
Add Tripoli	398,873	" "
Total	1,191,893	

TRIBUTARY STATES.

Bulgaria	37,860	" "
Egypt	400,000	" "
Island of Samos	210	" "
Total	438,070	
Grand Total	1,629,963	

A better idea of the extent will be gained from the statement that the immediate possessions cover very nearly the same territory as the United States east of the Mississippi, while the addition of Tripoli carries the line to include Minne-

sota and Louisiana, and the entire possessions correspond to the section east of a line drawn south from the western boundary of the Dakotas and cutting Texas in two.

It is, however, by no means a compact country, as will readily be seen by the map, and the different sections are as unlike to as they are distant from each other. The difference between Albania and Mesopotamia, Asia Minor and Egypt, is scarcely less great than that between Maine and Honduras, Oregon and Cuba. This great diversity in topography carries with it corresponding diversity in the general characteristics of the people, and both must be kept in mind if the situation, political and social, is to be understood.

Topographically the general characteristics of the Turkish Empire, whether in Europe or Asia, are a great extent of coast line and a large amount of mountainous country. With the exception of the Mesopotamia plain, a portion of Northern Syria and the plateaus of Western Asia Minor, the whole Empire is distinctly mountainous. In European Turkey the mountains extend from Montenegro into Greece; and until within a hundred miles of Constantinople, with the exception of the valley of the Vardar, there is scarcely any plain at all. Asiatic Turkey may be divided into four sections: Asia Minor, Eastern Turkey, Syria and Mesopotamia. Asia Minor includes the country west of a line drawn north from the Gulf of Iskanderun to the Black Sea; Eastern Turkey the remainder eastward to the Persian border; Syria includes the section south of the Taurus and east of the Mediterranean to the Euphrates; and Mesopotamia covers the great valley between the Euphrates and Tigris and the section between the Tigris and the Persian border as far south as the Persian Gulf.

From the very eastern end of the Black Sea along its southern coast, along the Sea of Marmora, the Aegean and the Mediterranean, extends a range of mountains, broken only by occasional passes; while from the Mediterranean through to the Persian border a line almost as sharp as that of a seacoast separates the mountainous region known historically as Armenia, more lately as Kurdistan or Eastern Turkey, from the level of Mesopotamia. So also the Lebanon range, extending from this same point of departure, the Gulf of Iskanderun, separates the narrow coast line from the Syrian Desert and the Hauran.

The coast has almost no harbors worthy of the name. Constantinople, with its Bosporus and Golden Horn, is famous; Smyrna has a good harbor, but Trebizond, Samsun and Ineboli on the Black Sea; Adalia, Mersine, Alexandretta, Beirut and Jaffa on the Mediterranean, are open roadsteads. In European Turkey there are fairly good harbors at Kavala and Salonica on the Aegean, but none on the coast of the Adriatic. The mountain ranges have very few passes. The most important ones in Asiatic Turkey are on the north from Trebizond to Erzrum, from Samsun south to Marsovan and Sivas, and from Ineboli to Kastamuni and Angora; and on the south from Mersine and Adana to Nidgeh and Cesarea, from Marash to Malatia and Harput, and from Diarbekir to Harput. On the east there are passes from Erzrum to Kars, from Van to Trebizond, from Mosul by Rowandiz to Lake Urumia, and from Bagdad to Hamadan. There are of course other roads, but they are so precipitous as to be most difficult of passage. The western section of Asia Minor is mountainous, without special ranges, and there are no passes of the same nature as those that cross the northern and southern ranges

of mountains. Still the country is very rough and there are only a few roads easy of travel.

In such a country it is natural to expect that the scenery should be fine, and the expectation is not disappointed. Along the Tigris there are views unsurpassed, except perhaps among the high Alps or the Himalayas, for grandeur. As the river cuts its way between lofty precipices and catches glimpses through the valleys of snowclad summits, one gets an idea of the strange effect it must have had upon Xenophon and his ten thousand as they toiled along the path still easily traced on the east bank. The approach to the city of Rowandiz from Mosul and Arbela is through a gorge, where the road, which winds for 2000 feet up a precipice, furnishes views equal to any in Switzerland. The author, passing, here fired his gun expecting an echo, but was disappointed and was just starting on when from far down the cañon there came a faint sound. Nearer and nearer it came, hurled back and forth from cliff to cliff, until the echo was almost deafening, and he was satisfied.

A very different kind of scenery is that over the plains. The view from Mardin, bounded by the Sinjar Hills, nearly 100 miles away, is one never to be forgotten. The great Mesopotamia plain lies at one's feet, like a gorgeous carpet of many colors, and the villages like children's playthings dot it with miniature pictures of life. So too the views over the Cesarea plain, from the slopes of the snowclad Argeus; over the Harput plain, from the Deli Baba Pass near Erzrum, and from the summits back of Trebizond and Samsun, where the Black Sea first breaks on the view; and most unique perhaps of all, that from the citadel of Van, with the gardens and lake in the foreground, and volcanic Sipan Dagh looming up in

the background. Of all the mountains Ararat is certainly the most beautiful. From whatever direction it is seen its symmetrical sides and regular summit appear perfectly approachable, yet so difficult is the ascent that to the people it seems almost as if God had forbidden its summit to be profaned. Very different from all these is the region near Brusa, with its Bithynian Olympus, its lake of Nicaea, and its vineyards, reminding one of Southern France. In some future day when traveling is not only safe, but easy, searchers after the beautiful as well as the grand, will find Turkey a favorite field of travel.

Over the plateaus of Asia Minor and the great Mesopotamia plain, passage is easy. Through the mountainous section of Eastern Turkey it is almost as difficult in any direction as over the great ranges. The Romans had built causeways in every direction, but in the later Byzantine times, these had fallen into disuse, and the great pitfalls occasioned by the dropping out of huge blocks of stone made them almost impassable. In a few instances, the Turkish Sultans made some efforts to repair these causeways, but they were seldom successful. The result was that everything was carried on horses, mules or camels, and such a thing as a cart or carriage was unknown. There have been various attempts on the part of the Turkish government to develop a system of carriage roads, especially within the past twenty years. Of these there were five specially important ones designed to connect Bagdad and Persia with the seacoast. One from Constantinople via Nicomedia, Angora, Sivas and Diarbekir to Mardin, Mosul and Bagdad; one from Samsun on the Black Sea via Amasia connecting with the first at Sivas; one from Smyrna via Konieh and Cesarea also connecting with the other at

Sivas; one from Alexandretta via Aleppo and Urfa to Diarbekir on the north, and on the south via Nisibin to Mosul connecting with the others at Diarbekir and Mosul. On the north there was a road from Trebizond via Erzrum and Van into Persia. In Syria the only roads of importance are from Beirut and Khaifa to Damascus. At the present time there are scarcely any roads worthy of the name anywhere in the empire, except between Trebizond and Erzrum and between Beirut and Damascus.

There are a few railroads. The first to be built was from Smyrna to Aidin. That was followed by one from Smyrna to Manisa, extended on to Alashehir; then followed one from Constantinople to Nicomedia, since extended somewhat on the way to Angora; one from Mersine to Adana, and one from the coast to Brusa. It was the plan for all these to converge into a great railway to Bagdad, but, like so many other enterprises, they have proved unsuccessful. In European Turkey, owing largely to the influence of Austria, there has been better success, and both Salonica and Constantinople are connected by rail with Vienna and Paris.

The climate of the Turkish Empire is very varied. In European Turkey, Western Asia Minor and Northern Eastern Turkey it is temperate; while Syria and Mesopotamia are almost torrid in their heat. Undoubtedly the lack of trees has much to do with the intense heat of the plains of Northern Syria, and even of sections of Asia Minor. The rains have washed the soil off the hills and mountains in many places, leaving bare rock, the reflection from which is intense in summer, while in winter the cold is almost equally unendurable. The snows throughout Eastern Turkey are very severe, rendering the roads almost impassable in winter, so that

caravans are frequently detained for days and weeks, and sometimes goods on their way from Erzrum and Van into Persia are delayed for several months. In Western Asia Minor, there is comparatively little snow, but the winter season is one of rain, and the soil, being in the main clay, renders travel exceedingly difficult. In Syria the intense heat of the plain may be escaped by going to the higher slopes of Lebanon. Thus the inhabitants of Beirut have a pleasant resort within a few hours' ride. In Mesopotamia, however, this opportunity does not exist, and almost the only relief from the intense heat in Mosul and Bagdad, is found by taking refuge in cellars.

The whole empire is extraordinarily fertile. The great Mesopotamia plain will bear the richest harvests with even the rudest form of agriculture; so also the plateaus of Asia Minor and the valleys of Macedonia. There is scarcely a level square mile in the whole empire that does not yield excellent returns for very little labor. Originally there were large forests. They have however almost entirely disappeared, and the only sections of forest to-day are along the shores of the Black Sea, in the region of Bitlis and between Marash and the Gulf of Iskanderun. Elsewhere the country is desolate, and the traveler is often directed on his way by landmarks of single trees. Comparatively small portions of the empire are, however, under cultivation. There are wide extended pasturages for herds and flocks, but these do not by any means cover the entire land, and there are long stretches without a sign of cultivation and with scarcely an inhabitant.

The products of the country are chiefly wheat, rice and barley. Cotton is raised somewhat in Northern Syria and in Asia Minor, and there are also large fields of poppies, the

opium trade being quite extensive. Tobacco is cultivated everywhere, and vegetables are much the same as ours, with the exception of the potato, which is almost unknown. The whole empire is rich in fruits of every kind, grapes, melons, figs, olives, peaches, pears, oranges, pomegranates and dates. All are of the best. The vineyards are extensive and in European Turkey and Western Asiatic Turkey considerable wine is made, which is largely exported to Europe and then re-exported bearing a French or Italian brand. Olive groves are especially abundant along the shores of the Mediterranean, and the fig orchards of Smyrna are well known. Dates are not found to any great degree outside of Egypt.

The mineral wealth of Turkey is very great, but it is so thoroughly undeveloped as to make its estimate very difficult. Along the shores of the Black Sea and in some portions of the Taurus there is a great deal of coal, but it is not mined and the extent of the deposit is practically unknown. In Eastern Turkey there are important mines of copper, silver and iron. These are worked with very rude methods and with varying success, but the output is such as to indicate great wealth, still undeveloped. There are also in Western Asia Minor mines of baryta which have been worked to some extent. In European Turkey there is considerable iron, and probably considerable in the mountains of Western Turkey, but there are few if any mines.

The domestic animals of the empire are horses, mules, donkeys, camels, sheep, buffaloes and dogs. There are also in certain sections wild boar, deer and other game, but to a limited extent. The horses vary from the fine Arab of the desert to the scrubby but enduring pony of Syria. The ordinary horse used in caravans is a rather small but powerful

animal, sure-footed and easily adapting himself to the rough roads and rather poor fodder. The use of donkeys and mules is universal. The white donkey of Bagdad is almost as aristocratic an animal as the Arab horse. Camels have gradually disappeared from the North, but are found in the South, and are still occasionally sent out in caravans from Smyrna. The cows are poor, small and of little value, either for their milk or for use in farming. Agriculture is carrried on chiefly by the use of buffaloes. The animal to whose development most attention has been given, is undoubtedly the horse, and next to that the sheep. The Angora sheep and goats of Western Asia Minor are famous all over the world, and in general the quality of wool and of mutton is most excellent. The dogs are of many breeds, including fierce shepherd dogs and fine greyhounds, but the most common is the mongrel cur of the cities and towns. Fowls are to be found every where and in large quantities, and there are pigeons and partridges in abundance.

The food of the people is chiefly the different preparations of wheat and rice, and in meats they eat little but mutton and fowl; beef is considered by most as unfit for food. They also use a great deal of milk, chiefly of sheep or buffaloes. They are very fond of a preparation of fermented milk, not unlike curds, generally eaten in the semi-solid form, but sometimes mixed with water and made into a very refreshing drink. A certain modification of this has been introduced into this country and is widely known under the name of Madzoon. The cooking is in the main very tasty, although the common people, especially in the mountains and the southern plains, are content with a very meager diet. The traveller who understands the ways of the country can generally provide

himself well, but he must carry some form of provision with him. As is natural, the food to be found depends very largely upon the nature of the country. In the heart of the Kurdish or Taurus Mountains, there will often be little more than a coarse millet bread, and perhaps milk, to be had; while in the cities and large towns, as also on the great agricultural plains, almost anything can be secured, and a good cook will provide a meal that the most fastidious would heartily enjoy. The author has repeatedly enjoyed dinners that would do credit to a New York Hotel for delicacy and richness of flavor.

Traveling and the carriage of merchandise is almost entirely by means of horses, mules and camels. The use of wagons has been introduced to a limited degree, but, except between Trebizond and Erzrum, it has not become general. This is chiefly in consequence of the poor roads, and the fact that even where there are stretches of good roads, they are so short as to necessitate a change when the journey is to be continued. For the mail and for travelers with little baggage, there is a system of relay traveling. Horses may be changed at stations from sixteen to thirty miles apart, and although seldom of the better sort, they can be kept at a slow trot or uncertain gallop, so that a speed of from four to six miles an hour can be maintained through the day. The ordinary distance covered by a caravan, whether of travelers or of merchandise, is from twenty-five to thirty miles a day. A post rider will frequently, in Turkey, cover forty to fifty miles; and in Persia, where the same system is employed, but the roads and horses are better, seventy-five or eighty, even a hundred miles a day, are not infrequently covered. The mail carriers, or Tartars as they are called, ride day and night, stopping only for change of horses and refreshments. One result of

this general method of traveling is that distances are measured by hours, not by miles, the hour varying somewhat in different parts of the country. In Asia Minor, where horses and mules are chiefly used, the hour is equivalent to from three to four miles, but in Syria and Mesopotamia, where camels are more common, the hour is seldom over three miles. Thus Erzrum is sixty hours from Trebizond—180 miles; and Harput sixty hours from Sivas—240 miles; but thirty hours from Marash to Alexandretta means no more than ninety miles.

The country is very thoroughly covered with telegraph lines connecting the principal cities, and the postal arrangements supply both the cities and larger towns. Both are under the sole control of the government, although one of the lines of telegraph, from Constantinople to Bagdad, connecting with an extension to India, is owned by an English Company. Turkey being a member of the Postal Union, letters from any interior city can be forwarded to America at the regular rate, but the internal rates are very high. Under the administration of Abdul Aziz, and during the early part of the reign of Abdul Hamid, both departments were, on the whole, fairly well conducted, but of late years there has been no certainty of correct transmission either of telegrams or letters, while papers frequently fail to reach their destination.

In this connection a word should be said as to the means of business communication. Constantinople and the seaboard cities are fairly well supplied with banking facilities. The Imperial Ottoman Bank has also a few branches in the interior, but for the most part the only method of transmitting funds has been by sending coin through the mails. In certain sections, this has been very hazardous on account of the insecurity of the country, and as a result, internal trade has been

greatly hampered. The establishment of the American missions all over the land has served in this matter greatly to the advantage of trade. A system of drafts has been established by which the missionaries draw on their treasurer in Constantinople and these drafts are sold in the market, facilitating exchange greatly. The missionaries, however, are very cautious, feeling that their position makes it unwise for them to share to any great extent in general trade.

One thing that strikes the traveler in Turkey very forcibly is the very sharp lines drawn between the cities, towns and villages and the surrounding country. City walls have to a considerable extent disappeared, though they remain in some of the more ancient places, Diarbekir, Urfa, Erzrum, etc. Beyond the line of houses there are in some instances, notably the city of Van, large sections of cultivated land, garden, vineyard or wheat field. In other cases, as at Erzrum, the city seems set down in the plain with no sort of relation to the surrounding country. The same is true of the towns and villages. Some are so completely imbedded in the gardens, that they appear much larger than they really are, while others give no sign of their existence, except as the village dog barks his signal of unwelcome to the traveler.

The general style of building varies with the section of country. Along the seaboard, or within easy reach of it, the general appearance of the houses reminds one of Europe. There is a frame of timber, with a wall of board or rough brick or stone covered with stucco. Red brick and dressed stone are also not uncommon. In the interior, however, the general style is that of the Mexican adobe. Sun-dried brick furnishes the chief material, sometimes whitewashed for more pretentious homes, government houses, churches or mosques,

but generally retaining the color of mother earth. In parts of Asia Minor where a soft sandstone abounds, there are brown-stone fronts, rivalling in style some to be found in our own cities. There is generally, however, some incongruity, made manifest in a wooden beam supporting a carved window, or an elegant doorway in the middle of an adobe wall. Diarbekir is famous for its basalt walls, giving both city and houses a most forbidding aspect. On the Mesopotamia plain, especially toward the south, reed huts are numerous, while in Northern Syria the almost entire lack of timber has occasioned the building of huts domed with sun-dried brick, anticipating the principle of the Pantheon at Rome. In the mountains of Kurdistan the villagers not infrequently burrow into the mountain side, and even on the plains of Asia Minor advantage is taken of rolling land to help in the making of the walls, and the traveler by night need not be surprised if his horse breaks through the roof of some unnoticed house. There are numerous instances, notably in Amasia and Urfa and along the Tigris, of villages cut into precipices of rock, while in other places the villagers burrow into the hills. In passing from Mardin to Urfa once, the author came, toward evening, to the foot of a hill, where the guide said he was to spend the night in an Arab village. He looked around, but saw no signs of life. The guide went to the summit of the hill, and shouted into what appeared a mere hole in the ground. A few minutes after a man appeared through what had seemed to be the entrance to a tomb, such as abounded in that region, and soon the whole party were descending through a passageway into a large room, used both as granary and living room by the villagers.

Such descriptions might go on indefinitely, but this will be

sufficient to indicate that throughout the empire the people have made the most of the resources at their command, for their permanent dwellings. Tent life is confined to the Bedouin Arabs and the summer wanderings of the Kurds over the plains of Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. It should be said, however, that within the past fifty years there has been considerable advance in the style of building, chiefly due undoubtedly to the influence of the missionary houses and the evangelical chapels, and to-day the general appearance throughout the entire country has greatly improved.

The arrangement within the houses also varies with the section of country. In the interior cities and large towns, the ground floor is taken up with court, stable, kitchen, store-room and perhaps an audience room, the living rooms being chiefly on the second floor. In the villages, however, there are few houses with a second story, and often the family share the one living room with their animals.

A word should be said as to the accommodation for travelers. This is chiefly in the form of khans or caravansaries, situated in the cities and on most of the caravan routes through the greater part of the empire, at intervals of about thirty miles. They are as a rule stone buildings, with a large open enclosure, surrounded by alcoves, closed or open, according to the climate. In the north, where the winter storms may be severe, there are stables frequently partly underground. The alcoves are for the travelers, the open space for their loads and the stables for the animals, but in case of severe weather the stable becomes also the refuge for the traveler, whether merchant, muleteer or official. In the large cities regular rent is charged, but in the country there is simply a keeper who receives a small fee for furnishing fuel and water, otherwise the place

being free for all comers. In some cases there is no keeper at all, the place being left to go to ruin. Most of these buildings in the interior have been put up as acts of merit by wealthy Turks, but with no regular income, and no one to be responsible for them, they have in many places fallen sadly into decay.

In the villages and even many of the larger towns where there are no khans, the traveler is sent to what is known as the "guest room." A room, or in some instances, a house, is set apart both for travelers, and as a meeting place, a sort of club for the villagers. Here they meet in the evening to discuss the events of the day, much as Americans gather at the postoffice or corner store. Some one is designated to provide fire and coffee and the head of the village holds a sort of court or assembly. Here also the traveler is welcomed, indeed has a right, whether welcomed or not, to make his stay. The room as a rule is oblong, with a fireplace at the end, and has a slightly raised platform on either side. If the arrival be a foreigner or official, he immediately takes the place of honor on the right near the fireplace and all gather to show him courtesy. If an ordinary muleteer or peasant, he must be content with a place near the door. Here also there is no charge, the attendants being satisfied with what they receive for the supply of food, etc. In case the village is too poor to boast a guest room, the traveler must content himself with some private house or room, which he generally finds no difficulty in securing. It will be readily seen that the traveler in the interior must in the main provide his own furniture and provision, unless he is able to put up with the very simple fare of the villagers. Foreigners, and even natives of the better

class, carry their own bedding, cooking utensils and, to a degree, their food.

The furniture of the houses is very simple, even in the cities, and in the villages it is primitive to the last degree. Chairs, tables, upright bedsteads, knives and forks are penetrating little by little even to the towns, but still the great majority of the people roll themselves in quilts for the night, sit on the floor around a platter for their meals and use little more than spoons. A few copper kettles serve for the cooking and goatskins for holding what little provisions they keep. A story is told of a mountaineer in Eastern Turkey, who went to visit some friends on the plain. When night came he was offered a quilt or comfortable and a wool pillow. He accepted them, though with rather rueful countenance, and laid down to sleep. Sleep, however, refused to come. Alarmed by his tossings his friends asked him if he were ill. No, perfectly well. But still he tossed on. Again they came to him to know what was the matter. At last he blurted out, "I cannot stand this quilt and pillow. Give me a piece of sacking to throw over my head and let me lie on the floor." Much against their will he insisted and they yielded, and he slept the sleep of his own mountain home.

A KURDISH ENCAMPMENT. The black tents are those of Kurdish tribes who spend the winter in the mountain villages and come down for the spring and summer to feed their flocks on the plains. They are spoken of in the Bible as the "tents of Kedar."

TURKISH PEASANT FAMILY, from the interior of Western Asia Minor. The family consists of the mother in the foreground, the son and his wife and their two children, son and daughter. An excellent illustration of the average Turkish peasantry of the somewhat better class, as found in the villages of Asia Minor.

CHAPTER II.

Population and Languages.

Accurate Statements as to Population Impossible—No Census—Best Available Estimates—Distribution—Most of the Races Described in Other Chapters—Jews and Foreigners—General Characteristics—The Languages—How Distributed—Peculiarities of the Turkish—Number Spoken in the Seaboard Cities.

ANY accurate statement as to the population of the Turkish Empire it is impossible to make. There have been various attempts at a census, but they have amounted to little or nothing, as is illustrated by the fact that in every case the number of males far exceeds, sometimes by 20 per cent., the number of females. The official returns likewise are almost valueless. They are based chiefly upon tax returns and these are notoriously inaccurate. The taxes are collected by the farming system and based upon the returns from the heads of the different communities. There is thus on the one hand a strong temptation on the part of the communities to underestimate the number of taxpayers, and on the other hand a tendency on the part of the collectors to misstate, in order to give as much leeway as possible for filling their own pockets. Accordingly about the only basis for an estimate that can in any degree be relied upon is furnished by the statements of persons who have lived or traveled extensively throughout the empire, are acquainted with the manner of life of the people and have opportunities

for accurate information from the heads of the communities. On this basis a general estimate of the population for the entire empire, including tributary states, is about 30,000,000, divided as follows:

IMMEDIATE POSSESSIONS.

Europe	4,000,000
Asia	16,000,000
	20,000,000
Africa, Tripoli	1,000,000
Total	21,000,000

TRIBUTARY STATES.

Europe	3,000,000
Africa, Egypt	6,800,000
The Mediterranean	40,000
Total	9,840,000
Grand Total	30,840,000

Leaving out of account the tributary states as practically outside of our purpose, we give here a brief general survey of the distribution of this population, reserving more definite and particular statement for the account of each race.

In European Turkey are Albanians, Greeks, Bulgarians and Turks. The Albanians are found on the borders of the Adriatic; the Greeks on the northern border of Greece, along the shore of the Aegean and somewhat up the valley of the Vardar; the Bulgarians occupy the northern part of that valley and the mountains up to the very border of Bulgaria; the Turks are principally found in the vicinity of Adrianople and Constantinople; there are also Armenians in Adrianople and along the coast of the Marmora. The Greeks are the most numerous; next to them probably come the Albanians and then the Bulgarians. Of Turks proper there are very

few. For years there has been a constant emigration from European Turkey into Asiatic Turkey, many recognizing that the time was at hand when the Ottoman rule in Europe must end. The Albanians are Moslems. There is, also, in the mountains on the borders of Eastern Rumelia, a considerable population, Bulgarian by race and Moslem by religion, called Pomaks.

Passing over into Asia, so far as the population is concerned, the country may be divided into three sections: Asia Minor and Eastern Turkey, Syria and Mesopotamia. In the first of these there are Turks, Kurds and a number of minor Moslem tribes, Circassians, Lazes, Xeibecks, Avshars, Turcomans, etc. The Christian population is almost entire Armenian and Greek. The Turks are principally in Central and Western Asia Minor; the Kurds are in Eastern Turkey, though extending somewhat along the mountain ranges; the Circassians are found scattered through Central and Western Asia Minor; the Lazes are on the borders of the Caucasus; the Xeibecks and others are tribes occupying the mountains inland from Smyrna; Armenians are found over the whole of the territory, in almost equal proportions; the Greeks chiefly along the coast of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean and in the western part of Asia Minor, though in Central Asia Minor there are a number of Greek villages. In Syria the population—something over 2,000,000—is about equally divided between Moslems and Christians. The Moslems are in the main of the orthodox Sunni sect, but there are a number of Metawileh, and the Druzes and Bedouin Arabs are numerous. There are also about 250,000 Nusairiyeh. The Christians are chiefly orthodox Greeks and Maronites; there are some Armenians, Jacobites

and others. The Druzes and Bedouin Arabs are found chiefly in the Hauran east of the Lebanon ranges. In Mesopotamia, the population is chiefly Moslem and Arab, though there are a number of Yezidis in the region of Mosul. The Christian races are found in the mountains between the Tigris and the Persian border, and include Jacobites, Nestorians and Chaldeans; Armenians are also scattered throughout the whole region.

Jews are found in large numbers in Constantinople, Smyrna and Salonica, and in smaller communities all over the land wherever there is trade. They are very largely Spanish in their origin, having fled to the Levant at the time of the persecution by Ferdinand and Isabella. They include the wealthiest and the poorest of their class. Many of the bankers are Jews, and their hold upon the finances of the country is very strong. They also control certain branches of trade, are very largely money-changers, and to a degree artisans. They occupy certain definite quarters in the different cities, which have the appearance familiarly associated with the Ghetto of Venice. They have the same general characteristics as their fellows in other lands, are shrewd, keen bargainers, but frequently find more than their match in the Christians. They are looked down upon and despised by Turks and Christians alike except when their wealth makes them the arbiters of the financial fortunes of the empire and of individuals. Many of the wealthier class are men of high character, universally respected for their ability and holding a favored position in society. As to their numbers it is difficult to give any figures. In Constantinople there may be 75,000, and in the empire, aside from Palestine, perhaps 150,000 to 200,000.

Almost all foreign countries are represented in Turkey. Those that furnish the largest number are probably Italy, Greece, France, Germany, Austria, England and Russia. Italians are numerous in the cities on the seaboard, in connection with shipping interests. The French are merchants, bankers, and to a degree professional men, as also are the Germans. Austrian subjects are not to a great degree pure Austrians, but Hungarians, Bosnians, etc., interested in trade. The English colony has been at times a very large one. During the reign of Abd-ul-Aziz, English mechanics were brought into the country in large numbers, and the various departments of the navy, army and public works were managed almost entirely by them. At the present time their number has greatly diminished. They are still employed to a degree by the government as engineers, but their places are being taken by others. There are a number of English mercantile houses, but the Germans have outstripped them in the conduct of trade with the interior, and the community is not as strong as it used to be. There is a large number of families of these various nationalities connected with the diplomatic circles, and Pera Society, as it is termed, is very largely composed of them, together with the bankers and the wealthiest merchants.

The Americans resident in Turkey are almost entirely American missionaries. They number in all not far from 300 adults, and are found in all the chief cities of the empire, their headquarters being in Constantinople and Beirut. Fuller statements as to their location will be found in the chapter on missions. There are other Americans, some merchants, a few professional men, chiefly physicians, and a few interested in one or another form of concession from the Turkish

Government. The missionaries, however, form by far the bulk of the American community.

Mention should also be made of a class peculiar to Turkey, known as Levantines. These are generally descendants of foreigners, English, French, or others who have settled in the seaboard cities, married women of the country and, while retaining their political connections with the country from which they originally came, have become thoroughly Orientalized in many respects, in their manners, customs and ideas. They are, as a rule, very capable, having all the shrewdness of the East, and are apt to be equally devoid of moral principle. In fact the term Levantine has become in great degree a term of reproach, indicating a general lack of moral fiber. Many of them, however, are persons of high character and considerable influence.

Each of these different races has its own particular and distinctive characteristics, to be noted in connection with the specific description of each race. There are, however, certain general statements to be made which come in place here. The first thing to be noted is the marked unity, or perhaps better, similarity between the different races. Notwithstanding diversity of origin and language, it is by no means easy for the uninitiated to draw the lines of distinction. This is due partly to the fact of the general mingling of the races, partly to the fact that dress and general habits of life are regulated more by climate and physical conditions, than by any arbitrary rule of government or society. In the first place there is comparatively little pure blood except among the Christians. In certain sections, notably the region of Asia Minor, formerly occupied by the Seljuk domain, the Turks are exceptionally pure-blooded, but on the seaboard

there is a large admixture of blood of other races. The introduction of Georgian, Circassian and even Armenian and Greek women into the harems of the Turkish nobles has had a perceptible effect. So also the general fact that the Turk is the dominant race has made large numbers of others of entirely distinct racial origin ambitious to take the name of Turk. Thus in Eastern Turkey, especially in the cities of Erzrum, Bitlis, Van and Diarbekir, there is comparatively little of pure Turkish blood, the great majority of those passing under that name being of Kurdish origin. The same thing is found elsewhere in Northern Syria, and to a degree in European Turkey. It must also be remembered that large numbers of Moslems called by various racial names are originally of Christian blood. In the early conquest of the land many villages and even communities accepted Islam under the pressure of the sword and because of weak faith in their own religion, due chiefly to the ignorance enforced by ecclesiastics. Thus in the mountains of Southern and Eastern Turkey there are whole communities known now as Kurdish which were originally of the same blood and the same characteristics as their neighbors now called Jacobites. Again in European Turkey there is comparatively little difference between the Moslem Albanian and the Greek Mountaineer of the same section. The Moslem Pomak of the Rhodope Mountains on the southern borders of Eastern Rumelia can with difficulty be distinguished from the Bulgarians, where they are engaged in similar pursuits and occupy similar territory. In Syria and Mesopotamia it is scarcely possible to draw racial distinctions. The line between Moslem and Christian in Aleppo, Mosul, Bagdad or Beirut is practically imperceptible except as occasional difference of dress or bearing is ob-

served. As we have said, almost the only peoples who have kept their nationality clearly distinct are the Armenians, Greeks, and there may be added the Bulgarians. Yet as was inevitable, these have been to a considerable degree affected; so that while the population of the Turkish Empire is thoroughly heterogeneous, there is to the chance traveler comparatively little distinction to be made between the men of the different races. Among the women the different conception of womanhood makes a very marked distinction, and on the street certainly even the most casual observer finds little difficulty in distinguishing between Moslem and Christian.

One general characteristic of the populations of the Turkish Empire is that they are easily governed. This does not mean that they are lacking in bravery, but the effect of the centuries has been to impress upon them the necessity of submission to whatever law is dominant in the empire. The Kurds are in the main thorough cowards. With the exception of those in the South they are always amenable to a strong hand and a very slight show of real force on the part of any government is sufficient to secure their obedience. Travelers are usually able to control them even in the wildest sections. It has been repeatedly said that a very small body of European troops with mountain artillery could pass from one end of Turkey to the other, even in times of general anarchy, and meet with very little opposition. This as a general statement is true. At the same time, organized resistance on the part of the Turkish Government with its regular army, would present an opposition which the strongest of European armies might hestitate to meet. Among the Christians there has been no organization against the Turkish Government, with the exception of two small sections. The mountain

Nestorians are practically independent on the Persian border; nominally they pay a certain tribute; sometimes they pay, sometimes they do not. The Armenians of Zeitun have been from time immemorial practically independent. About 20 years ago they submitted to the Turkish rule on certain conditions, which were accepted by the Turkish Government. Their recent revolt and the persistency with which they held out against the Turkish troops manifest the character of the people. Undoubtedly they were assisted in great degree by the topography of the country, but that was by no means the strongest feature of their resistance. Aside from these two sections the Christians have been the prey of the Turkish Government and have never organized in opposition to it. The reasons for this will be apparent in the chapters relating to the general history of the empire and the condition of the Christians.

The languages of Turkey are Turkish, Kurdish, Arabic, Syriac and Bulgarian. The Turkish is the official language of the entire empire and is used to a greater or less extent everywhere except in the remote villages of Kurdistan, Mesopotamia and Syria and throughout Arabia. Arabic is spoken everywhere south of the Taurus Mountains, with the exception of a few cities in the vicinity of Aintab and Marash. Kurdish is used in the mountains of Eastern Turkey and to a limited extent in the mountainous sections of Asia Minor. Armenian is spoken over the entire empire wherever there are Armenians. Greek is used along the borders of the Black Sea, the Archipelago and the Mediterranean and to a very limited degree inland. Syriac is used among the Nestorians and Jacobites, chiefly the former, in the mountains of Eastern Turkey. The use of Bulgarian is confined to

Bulgaria, Eastern Rumelia and Macedonia. Constantinople itself is a babel, all the different Oriental and many of the European languages being found there in everyday use.

Turkish is spoken by the Turks and Circassians and the various Moslem tribes, also to a considerable degree by the Kurds, Armenians and Greeks and by government officials everywhere. Certain sections of the Armenians, especially those in Central Asia Minor, from Sivas west to Angora and Cesarea, and those south of the Taurus in the vicinity of Marash and Aintab, have in years past used Turkish almost entirely, preserving their ancestral language only in the church services. The same is true of the Greeks in Central Asia Minor. Arabic is used by Moslems and Christians alike in the sections where it is the vernacular. Kurdish is spoken both by Moslems and Christians. Bulgarian is used solely by Bulgarians. All of these languages vary somewhat in their characteristics, according to the section where they are used and the class of people by which they are spoken. Thus the Arabic of the plains and of Egypt is much milder in its form than that found in the mountains. The same thing is true of the Turkish and the Armenian of Bitlis, and the people of that section are almost unintelligible to those farther west. The Greek of the Turkish Empire is also quite different in many respects from that of Greece proper.

The Arabic and Greek languages are so well known as not to need any particular description. They are essentially the same as they always have been and are well known in literature. The Arabic is one of the richest of all the Oriental languages in its literature. The character is difficult to learn and the construction is so involved that comparatively few foreigners become masters of it. It is said of Dr. Van

Dyck, the eminent missionary at Beirut, that he could speak Arabic so well as to deceive even the Arabs themselves, and on one occasion it is reported that this very facility in the use of the languages operated to create a prejudice that really at one time endangered his life, because they could not understand how any man who could speak Arabic as well as that could be a foreigner and claim the protection which he demanded.

The Turkish language is peculiar in many respects. Originally a Tartar dialect, it has many of the characteristics of the Saxon. It is terse and strong in its form of expression, and to a considerable degree monosyllabic. The Turks, however, passing through Persia, came very much under the influence of that language and felt the softening influences of it. The Persian, as spoken by the Persians, is smooth and flowing, liquid as any of the Pacific Island languages, and even more so than the Italian. The way in which an educated Persian uses his own language is unsurpassed for delicacy of expression or sound. Passing from Persia and accepting the Koran, the Turks came under the influence of the Arabic language, and the Turkish of to-day is the result of the commingling of the three elements. As a consequence it is an exceedingly rich language. As it is ordinarily spoken it is not at all difficult to learn, but to use it in literature correctly and with the appropriate adaptation of the forms derived from the Arabic and Persian, requires an amount of study and skill such as comparatively few have been able to bring to it. The character used is the Arabic, which, however, is not entirely adapted to the simpler Tartar forms, and as a result there is more or less of reduplication of letters. While the lettering of the three languages, Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, is the same,

each language has its own distinct form, so that a book printed in the type favored by the Turks will not be acceptable either to the Persians or the Arabs, and the same is true of the others. The tendency of education with Turkish, as with Arabic, is to soften the gutterals, of which there are several harsh ones, and Turkish as spoken in Constantinople by the educated is a smooth and flowing language.

The Armenian is naturally a harsh language, the strong gutterals, aspirates and sibilants affecting it materially. Here too is noticed the marked effect of education, and the Armenian spoken in the western part of Asia Minor is very mild compared with that along the mountains and even on the eastern plains. The Armenians of the Caucasus and Northern Persia use a form of Armenian which is somewhat distinct from that used by those in Turkey. The basis of all is the ancient Armenian, which has a very simple and direct construction, not unlike the English. A sentence in the old Armenian version of the Scriptures reads word for word almost the same as the corresponding sentence in the English version. The modern language as used by the Armenians of Turkey has been to a considerable degree affected by contact with Turkish and has degenerated in that respect. For some years there has been a tendency to revert to the more ancient form, and the teachers in the Armenian schools everywhere have exerted all the influence possible in that line. The result is manifest in their literature. The version of the Bible prepared by Elias Riggs, D. D., of the American Board, represents the best of what is known as modern Armenian of a quarter of a century ago. But of late years there has been felt the necessity of a revision to accord more closely to the type of the ancient language. This tendency is in the line of sim-

plicity. On the other hand, among the Greeks, while there is an increasing desire for the ancient Greek, which is quite distinct from the modern, an increasing familiarity with it does not appear to be as much of an approach to the ancient construction in the ordinary conversation as is the case in the Armenian.

The Bulgarian language is not unlike the Russian, both in its character and general construction, and belongs to the general Slav family.

The Kurdish language is entirely unique, though some Kurdish scholars have claimed that it was parallel to the old Persian. It is a rough language, and yet has certain musical qualities, and its poetry and songs are like those of so many mountain sections, exceedingly full of sentiment. Even the wildest of the men seem to come under its influence most powerfully.

In Constantinople and along the seaboard foreign languages are used to a considerable degree. The diplomatic language is French almost entirely. There is a considerable amount of Italian used in the seaports, and not a little German. The State papers for communication between the ambassadors in the Sublime Porte are entirely in French, though decrees of the government, of course, are written in Turkish. This mingling of languages has necessitated the employment of interpreters, and a large number of people, not merely connected with the embassies, but in various departments of business, are employed to transfer from one language to another such documents as may be necessary. The use of English is widely extended. The study of English in the different schools of the American missionaries and also in other schools has operated very largely to increase the use,

and English commerce has extended to a marked degree. This latter, however, has yielded in some respects to German, so that the German language is known and spoken more and more. As a rule, Armenians in the cities all speak Armenian and Turkish. Armenian merchants almost invariably add to this French, and in not a few instances Greek. In fact no one can do business successfully in the seaports without the knowledge of Turkish, French and Greek. Smyrna is almost entirely a Greek city, and even the Armenians use the language to a great degree. The Greeks, however, seldom, if ever, learn Armenian.

In traveling, a knowledge of Turkish will carry one with ease over the whole empire, except in Syria and Mesopotamia and a few sections of Kurdistan. Even there, however, some one may usually be found who has enough knowledge of the Turkish for ordinary use. On the seaboard, Greek will be of advantage, but is by no means necessary. All large business houses have some one who can converse in any one of the languages of the country or of Europe. One effect of this is that accurate use of any one language is hindered. At a dinner table in Constantinople it will frequently be the case that the conversation will turn from one language to another, and Turkish, French, Greek, German, Italian or English may be used. When such a condition exists there will be a general conversational use of all, but accurate scholarly use of any one is rare. In the schools, Turkish, French and English are the most generally taught, instruction in the other languages being chiefly confined to those who use them as their own vernacular.

CHAPTER III.

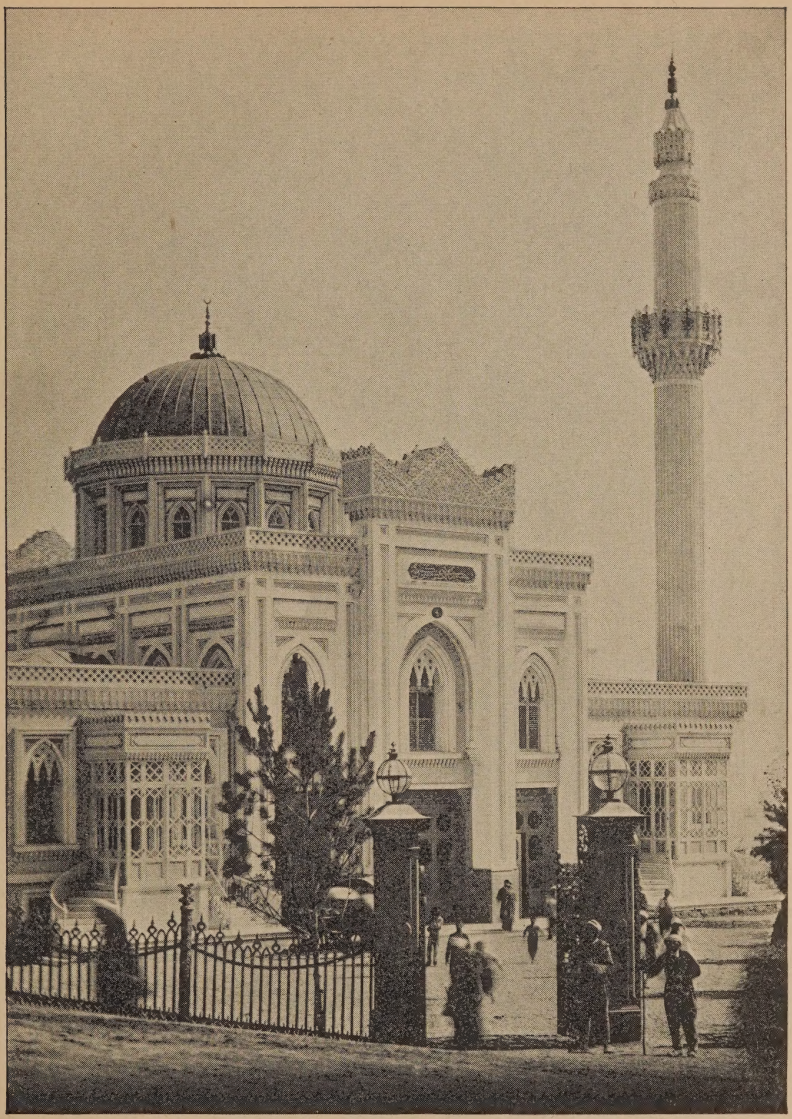
RELIGIONS.

Islam and Christianity—A few Pagan Communities—Origin of Mohammedanism—The Koran—The Traditions—Extent of Islam—Present Condition—Effect upon the Turks—Contact with Civilization—Sects—Oriental Christianity—Characteristics.

THE religions of Turkey are in general two—Mohammedanism and Christianity. The semi-pagan forms of faith held by the Nusairiyeh, Yezidis and Druzes are spoken of in another chapter in connection with an account of those races. This is not the place for a scientific statement of the general subject of Mohammedanism. The purpose of this volume is to set forth the situation of the Turkish Empire as it is, and we have to deal with Mohammedanism not as a theory or a doctrine, but as a fact. At the same time some understanding of the doctrine is essential in order to realize how potent a factor it is in the present situation.

Mohammedanism is primarily a historical religion, based upon the fundamental idea of the absolute unity of God and the recognition by God of Mohammed as his latest and most approved prophet. Without entering into the question of the sanity or insanity of Mohammed himself, it is sufficient to say that this Arab imbibed with his earliest teachings the doctrine which was held by the Jews, and a few in Arabia, of the power of the Deity. Apparently the teachings of the

Hebrews had left their trace upon him, and his mind dwelling upon the precepts of Moses and comparing them with what he saw of the Christians, developed within him a hostility to any form of what seemed to him idolatry, such as he found existent everywhere. Among the pagan tribes there were said to have been 365 images of the gods, who were looked upon as the children of Allah, the creator of all, whose wife was Al-hat, and the Meccans looked upon their local deities as the daughters of this idol. Idols were found in every house and formed an important article of manufacture. Religion was a sort of barter, and festivals and pilgrimages made up a large part of religious life and worship. At the same time the form of Christianity was of the most inferior type. The doctrine of the Trinity was practically a sort of tritheism in which the three persons were God the Father, God the Son and the Virgin Mary. To Mohammed there seemed little difference between the two and both appeared to him the very lowest forms of religious faith, and he was stirred with an earnest desire to know more. This, according to the idea of the time, he thought to accomplish by a hermit life and would spend days in a lonely cave. While here it is probable that epileptic fits would come upon him and there would be what he considered ecstatic reveries in which revelations appeared to him. The story of the fierce persecution which he suffered at the hands of his tribe is a most interesting portion of history. From the time of his fleeing from Mecca to Medina, in 622, which marks the era of Mohammedanism, his advance was rapid. In eight years at the head of 10,000 men he entered Mecca in triumph. He only lived two years longer, but he had laid the foundation for a religious power of marvelous vigor and extent.



THE HAMIDIEH MOSQUE, located close by the Sultan's palace, at Yildiz, to which he goes every Friday for service. In former times it was the custom of the Sultan to attend service on Friday in different mosques of the city, but Abdul Hammed II. has confined his attention to this mosque, chiefly from fear of assassination in the public streets of the city.

TURKISH DERVISH. The dervishes correspond in the Moslem communities to the special orders in the Roman Catholic Church. There are different classes, itinerant and local. This is one of the better class of local dervishes. They are feared by the people rather than respected, and are usually men of ability and considerable force; fanatical in the extreme and bitter haters of all Christians.

As to his character, those who have studied him most say that there can be no doubt of his sincerity and his conduct was in the main beyond reproach. He believed himself to be a divinely appointed messenger for the overturning of idolatry, and for years endured the hostility and taunts of his people with apparently no further motive than their reformation. At a later time other characteristics appeared of a much lower grade. Wealth and glory mingled with his reform ideas. Cruelty, greed and the grossest sensuality were not merely allowed but encouraged by his teachings, and the most successful portion of his life, so far as his public career was concerned, made it appear that he was a thoroughly self-deceived man.

The Koran is a volume divided into 114 chapters or suras, made up in a volume not quite as large as the New Testament. It constitutes the revelation proclaimed by him as received during the latter portion of his life. These were originally written on all sorts of material, "bits of stone, leather and thigh-bones," but had their strongest hold in the retentive memory of the Arabs, which assists their marvelous power of story-telling. These were gathered together after his death, in the caliphate of Othman, and the edition then prepared has been the standard edition for the Moslem world ever since. It is written in the Meccan dialect and held to be the absolute standard of the Arabic language, so beautiful that its very style is proof of its divine origin. The doctrine of the Koran is thoroughly simple. The fundamental teachings are the unity of God, the final judgment and absolute submission to his will or "Islam." The confession of faith is simply, "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet." The general belief includes belief in God, angels,

the Scriptures, the resurrection and day of judgment, God's absolute decree and predestination of both good and evil. In practice it requires prayers, alms, fasting and the pilgrimage to Mecca. In its relation to Christianity the Koran thoroughly recognizes the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testaments, and the prophets, from Abraham to Jesus, are acknowledged as divinely sent and of authority only less than Mohammed himself. The result of this is that a thoroughly orthodox Mohammedan, well grounded in his own faith, will always accept the authority of the Bible, merely claiming that wherever that comes in contact with the Koran the Koran supersedes it as being a later revelation. A Kurdish Sheik with whom the author spent a Sunday in the city of Rowandiz, said, "Why do not the great Bible societies of England and America print the Koran and the Bible together? Both are revelations from God; the only difference is, that the Koran being later is more authoritative. Print them both together and then we shall have the complete revelation." This fact explains in great degree the position of the Turkish Government with regard to the Scriptures. So long as they thought that there was no danger of the Christians' Bible superseding the Koran they were entirely willing that it should be printed. It was only when they learned that the teaching of the Bible was antagonistic to the Koran that they made every effort to hinder its publication and circulation; and in the whole contest the strongest argument and the one which they could not answer was that based upon the absolute recognition of the Bible by the Koran and the teachings of Mohammed.

Secondary to the Koran in form yet practically overpowering it are the traditions: the "unread revelations," the "unin-

spired record of inspired sayings." They refer "not only to what Mohammed said and did, but what he allowed others to say unrebuked." As was inevitable, the mass of these traditions is very great and their influence is proportionate. Any statement of Mohammedanism based upon the Koran alone is sure to be misleading. That together with the traditions must be understood in order to gain a clear and accurate conception of what the religion is. It is due to this fact that Mohammedanism has adapted itself with such marked success to the most varying conditions. It is as powerful in Central Asia as in Central Africa. It appeals to the educated Moslem of North India and to the ignorant and brutal Kurd. It numbers among its votaries men of every grade of intellectual ability. This is illustrated by the statement as to the extent to which the religion has spread over the world. Any accurate estimate is simply impossible owing to the fact that in Moslem regions there is no such thing as a complete census known. *The Encyclopædia of Missions* presents the following table derived from the *Statesman's* year-book published in 1890:

EUROPE.

Rumania	2,000
Bulgaria	668,173
Servia	14,569
Bosnia and Herzegovina	492,710
Montenegro	10,000
Greece	24,000
Turkey in Europe	2,000,000
Russia in Europe	2,600,000
Total for Europe	5,811,452

ASIA.

Turkey in Asia (including Arabia)	22,000,000
Persia	7,560,600
Bokhara	2,500,000

Russia in Caucasus	2,000,000
Khiva	700,000
Russia in Central Asia	3,000,000
Siberia	61,000
Afghanistan	4,000,000
India	50,121,595
Ceylon	197,775
Beluchistan	500,000
China	30,000,000
Australasia	15,000,000
Total for Asia	137,640,970

AFRICA.

Egypt	6,000,000
Zanzibar	200,000
Morocco	5,000,000
Tripoli	1,000,000
Tunis	1,500,000
Algeria	3,000,000
Bornu (Lake Tsad)	5,000,000
Wadai	2,600,000
Baghirmi	1,500,000
Egyptian Soudan	10,400,000
Sokoto and Feudatory States	14,000,000
Sahara and scattered	10,000,000
Total for Africa	60,200,000

Total for Europe	5,811,452
Total for Asia	137,640,970
Total for Africa	60,200,000
Total Moslems	203,652,422

What is the effect of Mohammedanism upon the Moslems of the Turkish Empire? What relation does it bear to the situation in Turkey to-day? These are questions not altogether easy to answer definitely and conclusively. A general idea is gathered from references made all through this volume. The situation may be briefly summarized as follows: Mohammedanism is on trial; it finds itself face to face with the aggressive power of a reformed Christianity; it no longer

has to meet the effete systems of the middle ages, weakened by purely doctrinal discussions that spread among the Christian Churches for centuries. It comes in contact thus with a truer spiritual life, and finds that it has suffered itself in its conceptions the same decadence that Christianity had suffered when it started. The belief in the unity of God is degenerating into pure and simple fanaticism; predestination to good has disappeared, and in place of it comes predestination to evil. The better characteristics of the Moslem influence have disappeared, and it is only the worst elements that come to the surface to-day. True there is an element in the Moslem Church that realizes, in a degree at least, this fact and is making strenuous efforts to reinstate the spiritual power to which the system has owed a large part of its aggressive strength, but it is doing it and has done it by means utterly subversive of the very ends it seeks to accomplish. From time to time there go forth fetvahs from the Moslem priests commanding the faithful to attend the mosque service, forbidding the faithful to indulge in certain things forbidden by the Moslem laws. But such edicts accomplish absolutely nothing. There is still to a certain degree the practice of the old asceticism. Any one who will attend a meeting of the Board of Censors in Constantinople will realize the truth of this as he looks upon the hard-visaged Tartars from Central Asia, whose fanaticism is manifest in every line of the countenance. But with them their religion has ceased to have any spiritual power. It has become nothing more than a form of doctrine identified with aggression and despotism. Eternal punishments take the place of eternal rewards and threats overpower promises. This manifests itself in two ways: first, in the tremendous pressure brought to bear upon the govern-

ment to restore the austerities of the Moslem faith, and second, in the manifestation of the sternest Moslem arrogance in the treatment of the Christians. Scarcely at any time in Turkish history has that arrogance been more prominent in certain sections and among certain classes. The scorn and contempt manifest for the infidel; the utter disregard for the most common rights of humanity; the assumption that Christians exist purely and simply for the benefit of Mohammedans; that rapine, murder and outrage are not criminal, but are absolutely legitimate; that Christian property has no rights that Moslems are bound to respect; all these characteristics are apparent to-day as they have not been at any time during the past century.

It is impossible for races such as the Moslem races of the Turkish Empire to come into contact with the results of a Christian civilization without realizing and acknowledging to a considerable degree the advantages of that civilization. These, recognizing the fact that Islam has adapted itself to very varying communities and circumstances, claim that it has still that power and that there is no reason why the highest results of European progress may not be appropriated by the Moslems. These men form the basis of what is known as the Young Turkey party. They call for a constitution; they demand railroads and telegraphs, electric lighting, free press, widespread literature, freedom of thought and worship; they refuse to allow that attendance upon mosque service is the test of loyalty to their government. The strife between these two forces is one of the most interesting and significant facts in Mohammedanism to-day. What the result will be time only will show. One more thing should be said. The exclusive power of the Moslem faith has never been manifested

more forcibly than it is now. No form of Christianity has affected it to any appreciable extent. The reasons for this will be recognized by any who have followed with care the developments of the past centurie

They are to be found (1) in the dominating political power of the religion, and (2) in the fact that as yet to only a limited degree has there been any general perception of a truer spiritual power. This last has affected some, but the great mass are utterly untouched. Should the political break-up of the empire come, then there are many indications that the ecclesiastical power will weaken and with it the force of the faith. Many Turks have spoken of this in private, not daring to set it forth in public.

The great characteristic of Mohammedanism which is most manifest in the dealings of Moslems with each other and with the world at large, is the fact that it recognizes no moral obligation of any kind. Sin is merely transgression of statute; falsehood, deception, robbery, murder, have no moral quality whatever. They are entirely legitimate when used for the furtherance of the Moslem State and even for the furtherance of individual advantage. Undoubtedly there are individual Moslems everywhere who have a strong moral sense, but the great mass of the Moslem community is utterly ignorant of what evangelical Christians understand by the sense of sin. Mistakes are to be atoned for by punishment, penance or remission of penalty; forgiveness in the Christian sense of the term is almost absolutely unknown. Hence arises one of the fundamental difficulties in dealings between Turkey and Christian nations. The Christian Governments unquestionably are bad enough in this respect, but the Moslem Government is far worse. It is a fundamental

element in the Moslem creed that "no faith is to be kept with an infidel." This has been carried out throughout the whole of Turkish history and will continue to be carried out until the Moslem system is overcome.

A word should be said with regard to the different sects of Mohammedanism. Mohammed himself is reported to have said that the children of Israel were divided into 72 sects, and his people would be divided into 73. A Moslem writer says that there are 150 sects in Islam, but the infinite shades between them make them practically innumerable. The two great divisions of the Moslem world are Sunnites and Shiites. The first follow the first three caliphs after Mohammed; the latter regard these as illegitimate and commence with the caliphate of Ali, the prophet's nephew. The former embrace by far the larger part of the Moslem world. The latter are chiefly confined to Persia, though they are represented in a considerable degree in Turkey, especially by some tribes of Kurds. The Shiites believe that the last Imam is still alive and will appear as the Mahdi (director), after which the judgment day will follow. Some of them even go so far as to give Ali divine honors, holding him to be greater than Mohammed. They are as a rule far more deceitful than the Sunnites, and observe certain fasts denied by the orthodox. The Sunnites are divided into four great sects and these again into a number of smaller ones. One, the most important, includes in greater part the Moslems of Turkey, Central Asia and Northern India; the second those of Southern India and Egypt; the third those of Morocco, Barbary and Northern Africa generally; the fourth those of Eastern Arabia and some parts of Central Africa.

Sikhism is a strange mixture of Hinduism and Mohamme-

danism in Northern India. In Persia there are two great sects of considerable power: the Sufis and the followers of Bab. These, however, have no relation especially to Turkey. In Arabia, there is a sect, the Wahhabees, which was at one time very powerful and in the early part of the present century occasioned the Turkish Government considerable trouble. The most prominent development of Mohammedanism of late years has been the rise of the Mahdi, in the Sudan. To describe this at length is beyond our limits. It arose in the dissatisfaction with the caliphate of the Turkish Sultan, and the belief that the sheik who called himself the Mahdi was in reality the one who was to lead Islam in its final victory over the world.

In its relations to Christianity Islam allows absolutely no apostasy. The death penalty is still existent in Persia, and while nominally forbidden in Turkey, it is at least exile and often death for any Turk to accept Christianity.

The different forms of Christianity are spoken of in connection with the different races. A few statements, however, should be made in regard to them in general. The characteristics manifested by all the different Oriental churches are essentially the same; a strict formalism in doctrinal belief and in worship, a very general lack of spiritual life and an intense devotion to the national idea as identified with church life. It is to this very largely that is due the racial unity of the different classes, and while there has always been through the centuries a great deal of true devotion to Christian faith, it is unquestionably the fact that the national strife that centered about propositions or the most abstruse facts of philosophical theology, seems in many respects impossible to those of different race and different education. The

same characteristics, however, that existed then exist to-day in considerable measure, and this must be remembered in all consideration of the situation of Christians and the development of Christian communities in the empire.

It must be remembered also that the rivalries first occasioned by these theological differences and afterwards developed by the peculiar system of government adopted by the Sultans, has done very much to intensify the peculiarities of each of these sects. They are bitterly opposed one to the other. Armenians will have nothing to do with Greeks, and Greeks are bitterly opposed to the Armenians; Gregorian Armenians hate those of their own race connected with the Roman Catholic Church, and the Greeks despise the Bulgarians, although another branch of their own general faith; Nestorians, Chaldeans, Jacobites, all strive against each other. The position of the Protestants is somewhat peculiar. At first they were looked upon merely as one additional sect developing an additional nation, and to that extent detracting from the power of those from whom they sprung, and they were hated by all. Of late years, however, it has become evident that they are no less national in their feeling than those who have remained in the old churches, and they have been recognized more and more as parts of the same nations. It is hoped by many that, as Evangelical ideas spread in all the different communions, there will result a drawing together, not necessarily a unifying of forms of worship or statements of doctrinal belief, but a sympathy which shall make them support one another rather than work against each other.

One thing more should be said. The general effect of religious instruction throughout the Levant has been to divorce

the profession of faith from any control of life. The idea that moral conduct was involved in the profession of a creed seems to have disappeared from a good many lives, and the Greek brigand will say his prayers and then start on his pillaging expedition; the Armenian merchant will attend service and then go forth to get the better of his opponent in trade without the slightest regard to the use of truth in his dealings. The same thing appears in the Moslem, the most outrageous persecutions and terrible cruelties having been carried on under the very lead of the Moslem Church and as a matter of faith.

CHAPTER IV.

The Turks.

Their Origin — Early History — General Characteristics — Good Qualities—Kindness—Hospitality — Temperance — Honesty — Intellectual Ability — Obedience to Rulers — Bravery—Bad Characteristics—Indifference to Suffering—Brutality—Degradation of Women—Sensuality—Official Unreliability—Fatalism—Insolence—Indolence—General Summary.

THE term Turk is a somewhat indefinite one. In general it applies to any or all of the different tribes originating east of the Caspian, and who have spread in varying degrees north, south and west. Without undertaking to give specific definition, it is sufficient to apply the name to the greater part of the Turanian race, and for present purposes to limit it to those branches that have at various times occupied what is known as the Turkish Empire.

According to a legend, the common ancestor of all was a mighty king by the name of Turk, who lived in the time of Abraham. A descendant of his, called Oghuz Khan, had six sons, whom he sent one day to the chase. Returning, they brought him a bow and arrows which they had found. The bow was given to the three eldest and the three arrows to the younger. The latter each took one, but the first three divided the bow among them, receiving thereby the name Bosuk, The Breakers. They were intrusted with the care of the right

wing of his army, while to the three youngest, called Utschok, The Three Arrows, was given the care of the left wing. These younger ones extended their rule eastward toward China and were the ancestors of the Mongols. The others roamed westward. One became the founder of the Turkomans, another of the Seljuks and the third of the Ottomans or Osmanlis. This, however, is chiefly legend. What is clearer history is the fact that varying tribes, with some evident connection with the Mongols of Eastern Asia, spread westward through Russia and Persia, and encamped upon the plains of Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. Their first incursions were about the fifth and sixth centuries, at the very time when both Caliphate and Byzantine Empire were showing the weakness of effeminacy. At first their progress was, through lack of any organization and unity, of little moment. They furnished the mercenaries for the Caliphs, and while occasionally governing one section or another, held their power in very uncertain hands.

The first chieftain to accomplish anything like permanent rule was Togrul Bey, the grandson of Seljuk, an Ameer of Turkestan, who wrested one country after another from its princes and reigned from Bokhara to Syria, from the vicinity of the Indus to the Black Sea. He bequeathed his vast empire to the famous Alp Arslan, who crossed the Euphrates, conquered Armenia and Georgia, and came up to the very borders of the already shrunken Byzantine Empire. Its emperor sought to check the advance of the chieftain, but was defeated, captured, and only received his liberty as a special favor of his conqueror. He, however, granted it not so much from any considerations of humanity, as because he realized that, brave and intrepid as his horsemen were, they

were no match in the long run for the disciplined legions of what was to him a new world. As so often is the case, the adventurous rush westward left his ancestral region exposed to enemies. On his return to reinstate himself in Bokhara, Alp Arslan was killed, and his son, Malek Shah, came to the throne. His reign, 1072–1092, was the golden era of the Seljuk dynasty. His empire extended from the Caspian to the Mediterranean, from Khorassan to the Bosporus. The Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt were practically under his power, and from his capital at Konieh (Iconium) he governed the whole of his vast domains. The Seljuk ruler was not merely a conqueror. Whether under the influence of the Caliphs or not, he interested himself in education, founded schools, and it was during his region that many of the most beautiful specimens of what is mistakenly called Saracenic architecture were erected throughout Central Asia Minor. The graceful mosques and arches, sometimes highly adorned, mostly now fallen into ruin, are all that is left of a strange incursion of the wild Tartars into civilization.

Malek Shah left little or nothing of his own ability to his three sons, who disputed among themselves and divided the empire: one holding Persia and laying the foundation for the present Kajar dynasty; another occupying Northern Syria, while the third retained the ancestral capital at Konieh. This division not merely made them subject to incursions from abroad, but to revolutions from the chieftains who nominally gave them allegiance. The first to take advantage of their weakness were the Mongols, who, under Zinghis Khan, either overbore the weak Seljuks entirely or held them in subordination, though still allowing them the title of Sultan. The Mongols, however, had no staying power, and gave place in

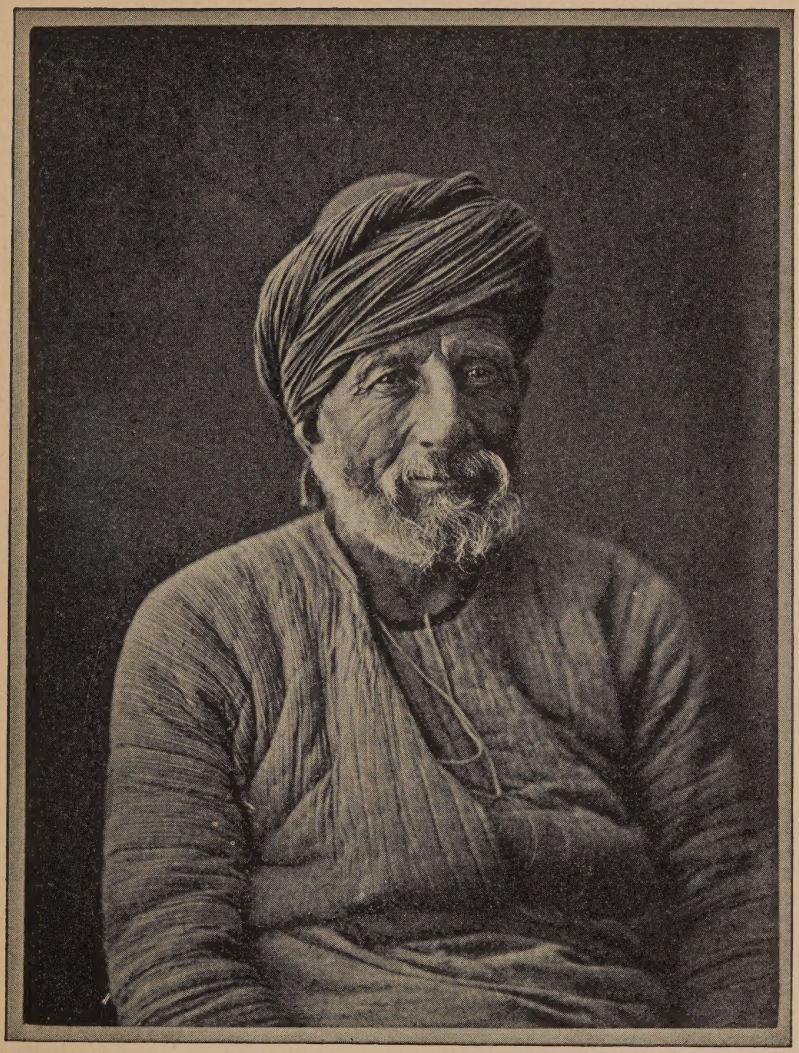
their turn to still another incursion. A tribe of Turks swept away by the Mongol invasion had found their way from Khorassan to the region west of Ararat, where they camped about the headquarters of the Euphrates. They found this, however, not exactly to their mind, and longing for their ancient home, set out to return to it. Their chief, however, was drowned in attempting to cross the Euphrates, and the result was a division of the troops. The two oldest sons held on their way to Khorassan; the younger two, with about 400 families, wandered back and forth in true nomad style from plain to mountain. One, Erthogrul, came out upon a plain of Cappadocia and found, according to the story, two armies in conflict. True to the mountain instinct, unfortunately lost in later years, he joined the weaker company, and with his fresh warriors won for them the victory. Later consultation revealed to him the fact that his late ally was the Sultan of the Seljuks, seeking to defend his much-diminished kingdom against one of his periodical foes. The new arrivals, fresh from their mountain life, unweakened by the experiences of the plain, formed a valuable reinforcement. They joined heartily with those they had helped, recognized loyally their chief, and assisted him to regain his power over the various tribes around, and also to make some headway against the Greeks. In course of time a closer alliance was brought about and the son of Erthogrul, Ottoman, Osman, or Othman, by persistent courtship and a convenient dream, won the daughter of an Arab chief, and Malkatoun became the mother of Orchan.

Erthogrul lived to an advanced age, but little by little transferred the care of his kingdom to Othman, who, on the death of his benefactor, became the recognized head of the

nation. This was in the latter part of the thirteenth century. His reign, and that of Orchan, were occupied chiefly in consolidating their power, developing the general character of the people, introducing the best military arrangements known at that day, and in extending their empire. One by one they drew under their leadership the various Turkish tribes, and advanced nearer and nearer to Constantinople, until they made Brusa their capital. It was here that both father and son are buried, and their tombs are objects of great reverence among the Turks to the present day.

It is probable that the influence of these two men largely controlled the development of Turkish character. That character is often greatly misunderstood. It is by no means as thoroughly barbaric as many suppose. It is impossible that a nation that could develop such power, could not merely extend its boundaries, but maintain them, subdue nation after nation, and keep them in subjection, hold its own for centuries against the hostility of Europe, and withstand the disintegrating influences that have been at work during the past century, should not have much of vitality in its nature. Whatever of weakness at the head, there must have been, and there must still be, soundness of body. That this is true is testified to, not merely by travelers, of whatever nationality, but by the very people who are quoted as saying, "There is no good Turk but a dead Turk." The fact is, that in order to estimate accurately the character of the Turkish native, we must go not to the official circles, but to the private houses, whether in the cities or the country, but most of all in the country.

The ordinary Turkish peasant, and many a townsman, is a man very simple in his tastes. His food is plain but wholesome, his dress is unassuming, his house most primitively fur-



TURKISH PEASANT. They are ordinarily quiet, kindly men, fairly industrious, but not aggressive. It is only when stirred by fanatical appeals that they come to be dreaded. They almost all wear charms, and the cord about the neck is fastened to one such. The turban is a simple roll of dark cloth about a felt cap.

GROUP OF MOUNTAINEERS FROM CENTRAL ASIA MINOR. These are not as fierce, although fully as brave as the Xeibecks. They form a considerable element in what are known as the Bashi-Bozouks, or irregular troops of the Turkish army. They are pure-blooded Turks, stalwart, powerful men.

nished. He is kindly in his bearing; intensely fond of his children, frequently so of his wife; a great admirer of the beauties of nature, generally contriving to have some flowers within reach. He is social, but in rather a sober way, in this respect quite different from the Armenians, who are far more buoyant, and from the Greeks, whose entertainments are frequently boisterous. He is thoroughly hospitable, entertaining with a free hand. To the unfortunate, especially the blind, the crippled, the demented, he is very kind, not only never lifting a finger against them, but helping them when he can. So also with animals, he is careful and generally considerate.

In his private life the Turkish peasant is temperate. Not as temperate as he is supposed to be, but still temperate. As a rule he is a monogamist. Polygamy is comparatively rare, chiefly because of the expense. The facility and widespread use of divorce, however, accomplishes much the same thing. Any Turk can put away his wife at any time, and take another, and in the towns this privilege is used constantly, nor is there any disgrace involved. There are, however, multitudes of instances where husband and wife are true to each other through a long life. The statement is frequently made that the social evil is unknown. This is not true. In the cities, and wherever there are garrisons, there is prostitution, though not to the same extent as in Europe. Sodomy is far more common. In the main, however, the common Turk of the provinces will compare very favorably with the peasant of other lands, and one proof is found in the unimpaired vigor of his physical constitution. He is ordinarily a robust, well-formed, powerful man.

In his relations with the subject races of the empire, the Turk never forgets that he is the lord of the land. This is intensi-

fied by the fact that he occupies himself chiefly with the care of the land, herds and flocks, which he considers the only real property. Trade he has little taste for, and as little facility in it. Banking, too, is entirely alien to his habits. These pursuits he looks upon as implying endless trickery and deception, and accordingly he looks upon them with contempt, for, except under the influence of the West, he is in general truthful, honest and reliable. This contempt is usually mingled with somewhat of dread, for he is no match for the very people he despises, whom yet he finds so essential to his comfort and general welfare. The result is, that for the most part he lives on good terms with his neighbors of whatever race or creed. In ordinary times he will be seen on friendly, even intimate, relations with them, and, although the distinction is always clear, it is yet frequently overlooked. Villages, Christian and Turkish, on the same plain, will ordinarily be at peace, and in the towns and cities there is seldom any indication of the line that separates one quarter from another. Even in the massacres of the past year, there have been many instances where they have given protection to hunted Christian refugees.

So far as the foreigner is concerned, he is to the average Turk more of a curiosity than anything else, a kind of being with whom, or with which, he has very little to do. He has a dim conception of the existence of some strange countries far remote from his own, where people dress in a most uncomfortable way, eat strange things, and altogether lead a life which has not the slightest attraction for himself. There are men, even in interior villages, who have a much more accurate idea of Europe, and who have even heard of America, but

the following incident, which is a true one, will apply to the greater part of the Turks of the provinces.

A foreigner who was traveling in Northern Syria came to a village on the Euphrates, and entered into conversation with his host, a part of which was as follows:

Host. What is the latest news?

Foreigner. Have you heard that the Russian Emperor is dead?

Host. No! When did he die?

Foreigner. Two or three weeks ago.

Host. Is there a new king yet? (Notice change in title.)

Foreigner. Why, yes, even though not formally crowned, the new Emperor became Emperor the moment his father died.

Host. Who is the new king?

Foreigner. The son of the one dead. In Europe the crown goes from father to child, not to the oldest male of the blood royal as in the Turkish Empire.

Host. Has the new king come to Constantinople yet?

Foreigner. What for?

Host. Why, to get our Emperor's permission to put on his crown; he cannot put it on without our Emperor's permission.

Foreigner. I think that has not been the custom of late years.

Host. Why, certainly it has. None of the kings of Europe can be crowned without our Emperor's permission. Is not that so? (this to a Moslem who had just come in).

Visitor. Why, yes. They are all vassals of our Emperor.

Host. I wonder if our Emperor will not insist that the new Russian king pledge himself to abstain from war two years, before letting him put on his crown?

Visitor. Probably he will.

The intellectual ability of the Turk is good. When it is remembered that there is almost no education of any kind throughout the country; that what little there is, is confined to the priests; that there is little reading and almost no opportunity for development, the facts apparent on every hand indicate no mean order of talent. The records of attainment in government schools and elsewhere show that Turkish young men are fully the equals of any. In many respects the conduct of the government is of a very good order, and the history of Turkish diplomacy is certainly on a par with that of any court of Europe. They have not the keenness of the Armenians or of the Greeks, but have good minds, and, where circumstances give the opportunity, they show ability to think for themselves. In the official class this is particularly noticeable, and the educated Turk of Constantinople stands fully abreast of his compeer in the cities of Europe. An American, traveling in a railroad train from Adrianople to Constantinople, got into conversation with a Turkish army officer. He found the officer well posted in many lines of investigation and even well read in the Turkish version of the Bible. It is an interesting and significant fact that large editions of that version, in the form specially adapted to Turks, have been sold throughout the empire, and that they are constantly read and studied, has been repeatedly affirmed by the Turks themselves. A nation that can produce such men as Fuad, Midhat, and Ali Pashas, and not a few of those prominent in later years, and that shows such interest in a daily press, cannot be considered of mediocre intellectual ability.

From the standpoint of a despotic government the Turk

makes an almost ideal subject. He is absolutely obedient to those whom he regards as constituted authorities, even where treated by them with the most outrageous oppression and injustice, as is repeatedly the case under the Sultan's rule. He seldom if ever complains, and when he does it is with bated breath, as if there could be no criticism of his superiors. Whatever of wrong there may be, is laid at the door, not of the authorities, but of some outside and to him unknown influences which compel this action under which he suffers. Or it may be that he looks upon it as just punishment from God for some crime against his law. But of this later on. As a soldier he takes rank with the very best in the world. His naturally fine physique and strong constitution and simple manner of life give him great endurance, and his unwavering obedience, which, however, is by no means stolid, as is that of the Russian, makes him the reliance of his officers, while his education in his religion from childhood makes him reckless even to the point of despising death. The record of Turkish wars throughout the centuries has been one that any nation might well be proud of, so far as achievements of its soldiers are concerned; and no one who watched the veterans as they returned from Plevna and from Shipka could fail to understand how it was that Russia had to buy her way into the fortifications.

There is, however, another side to Turkish character, illustrated by many facts along the lines already mentioned. The treatment of the insane whose detention becomes necessary, and who have none to provide for them, is brutal in the extreme. In times of famine or of general distress the Turk will do little or nothing to relieve even his own people, and when an animal becomes sick or helpless, it is left to a

miserable end. It is no uncommon sight on the caravan roads to see camels, horses or mules, that have fallen by the way left to die, while the vultures gather and commence their work even before life is extinct. The stories of the past year of torture, murder and outrage, seem to belong to a race of demons rather than of human beings. It is true that for much of this the Kurds are responsible, as in the Bulgarian massacres it was largely the Pomaks who were guilty of the worst excesses, but still it is true that the Turks themselves, soldiers and peasants, committed deeds of the most frightful enormity. The ripping up of pregnant women to decide a wager as to the sex of the unborn child, the wholesale outraging of women and girls, not to speak of the torturing of men, and even little children, in the most inhuman fashion, indicate a fiendish barbarism that seems absolutely incompatible with the kindness and hospitality to which so many bear witness. Yet it is simple truth that, were the facts to be detailed in all their horror, the chronicle would disgust the world. A portion of it has been set forth in such articles as those by E. J. Dillon, in the *Contemporary Review;* by Frederick D. Greene, in "The Armenian Crisis in Turkey," and a few, comparatively very few, instances will be found in later chapters of this book. They need not be repeated here. It is sufficient to say that there is not a case given for which there is not abundant proof.

So also in private life there are aspects of even the best of the Turkish people that can call forth only condemnation. Most noticeable, perhaps, is the condition of women, which is in the main thoroughly degraded. From her birth she is looked upon as a menial and an unfortunate. This is illustrated by the great amount of infanticide, especially if the

child be a girl; by the haggard, ugly countenances of the old women, so different in that respect from the Armenians; the piercing shrillness of their voices, from which every tone of tenderness seems to have gone; the very general vulgarity of conversation and of thought, always attendant upon a condition of society where the woman must rely upon satisfying the passions rather than the heart of her husband. As already stated, there are exceptions, but in the main the condition of the Turkish women is very low. This condition reacts upon the men and makes them vulgar and sensual in the extreme. The everyday language of the average Turk would shock the lowest of the slum boys in our own cities. Under ordinary circumstances sensualism is kept measurably in check by the inevitable restraints of community life, but once let those be broken and lust reigns supreme, dominating everything. As a gentleman who knows them well and never hesitates to recognize their good qualities, has said, "In a Turk's eye all that a woman has is sex, and for it he lusts with absolute brutality."

Similar characteristics appear in his relations with others. While ordinarily peaceable and desirous of living on good terms with his neighbors of other creeds or races, and thus generally truthful, honest and hospitable, he will on occasion show the reverse of all these characteristics, and it is not infrequently the case that travelers find it impossible to understand how any one can possibly speak of the race with other than contempt for its utter disregard of the most ordinary amenities of life. The explanation is undoubtedly partly to be found in their religious training, but there is ingrained in the Turkish character an element of dishonesty and of disregard for truth. This uncertainty appears some-

what in their relations to their own government. Loyal as they are, it has not infrequently been true that they, far more than the Christian subjects, furnish the most anxiety, and if now the inmost thoughts of the Sultan could be learned, it is most probable that he fears the Softas far more than the Armenians.

Next, perhaps, to the condition of woman, the weaker or the worst side of Turkish character is manifest in the official class. The Turks themselves have a proverb that "The Turk is a decent man until he becomes an official, and then he becomes a scamp," and this is borne out in the greater part of the intercourse between that class and the rest of the world. Probably no court in history can give so marked an illustration of the decadence of all moral power as the Turkish court. There have been noble men, men of pre-eminent ability and sterling character, but they have been very rare, and the average official, whether in civil, military or naval service, is absolutely unreliable. He will make promises that he never intends to keep and that he knows he cannot keep. He will accept bribes unblushingly and will deal with all whom he comes in contact on the general principle that he is the smartest man who can get the most and give the least; a sycophant to his superiors, a bully to his inferiors. His whole life is a constant strife with every one with whom he has any relations whatever. The very atmosphere in which he lives seems to breathe dishonesty and fasehood, and the ability he shows is prostituted to the very basest ends. Yet here again, as in almost every other statement, exceptions must be made. No one who has had dealings with the departments of the government has failed to find many instances of courtesy and consideration. With

all the outrage and injustice perpetrated by the provincial governors, there have been many instances of not merely justice, but kindness, in their dealing with all classes of people. When, however, every possible exception is noted, it remains true that the official life from the highest to the lowest is thoroughly demoralized.

The one dominant element in the Turkish character, however, the one which controls and modifies all the others, is his religion. This is no place for a general description of Mohammedanism. Some reference has already been made to it in a preceding chapter. Here we have only to note its effect upon the Turkish character. That effect is both advantageous and disadvantageous. The grandeur of its monotheism fills his soul and holds him in absolute subjection to that idea. One result of this is that the natural simplicity of the race is strengthened rather than weakened. Another effect of it is seen in his general self-control and temperance. The Turk is by no means as temperate a man as many suppose him to be; yet what temperance he has is due primarily to the precepts of his religion. So also he is as a rule self-contained, not from stolidity, but from principle. He is above all things else a pure and simple fatalist, acknowledging God's absolute control over him and claiming that whatever is, is right. It is immaterial to him what happens to him. Thus, on the field of battle he absolutely refuses to recognize danger, and in private life, when sickness overtakes him, he will frequently make no effort for recovery. The following incident illustrates, better than any lengthy description can, the power of this influence.

In the various scourges of cholera that have swept over many parts of the empire, the Turk has been the most

difficult patient to treat. In the dread time in Constantinople in 1865, when the deaths numbered not less than a thousand a day, a gentleman on his errand of mercy and of healing met in the street a young man, who implored him to come into a room near by and save, if he could, his father. The room was entered, and there, upon a single quilt upon the floor, lay a Turk, old in years, but not in strength, of magnificent physique and apparently of perfect health until attacked by the plague. The disease had secured so thorough a hold of him that he seemed to be marked for death. As the medicine was produced he absolutely refused to take it, saying, "If it is God's will that I should die, I shall die, and your medicine will do no good. If it is His will that I shall recover, I shall recover, and your medicine will be of no use." Scarcely needless to say the man died. This same principle also makes him the obedient subject that he is, and keeps him content with his lot when many another race would be restless and urgent for revolution.

There are, however, other influences for evil. The very absoluteness of Islam makes him overbearing and insolent to all who are not of his own faith. Its exaltation of the sensual paradise frees him from all restraint in the gratification of his passions. If once his recognized ecclesiastical leaders, the authorized interpreters of the law, declare against the authority of the government, he becomes immediately the most dangerous revolutionist known to history; this in aggression. But in another sense the same religion develops within him an indolence. The one word that probably to many a traveler expresses Turkish character, is the word "kef." It is an untranslatable word, and denotes a general condition of indolent and sensuous rather than sensual enjoyment of different

pleasures. In the enjoyment of it he is careless of the future and the past, and lives only in the present. If urged to labor in the fields, he says, "What is the use? I have enough for the moment. Why should I look out for the future?" If appeal is made to his ambition in the line of intellectual development or wide extent of prosperity, the same indolent luxuriousness prevents his taking the slightest trouble to alter his situation. That this indolence should co-exist with the tremendous fury of the Turkish onslaughts as known in history, with the atrocious barbarity of the events of the past year, seems almost incredible, and yet it is true. This same characteristic appears in still another form. It stands in opposition to any development of the land. It is epicureanism interpreted in Tartar language, and we have the Sybarite, with the bare mud floor, a cup of coffee and a pipe, instead of the luxurious couch and deep potations of the Roman court. This latter indeed is found where wealth gives opportunity, but for the distinctive Turkish "kef," we must look not in the palace or on the shores of the Bosporus, but in the village and on the plains of Asia Minor. An illustration is furnished in the refusal of a Turkish pasha who owned some land on the southern slopes of the Taurus. When some Europeans came to get a concession for working some coal mines on his property, he replied, "If God Almighty had intended that coal to be used, He would put it near the surface where it could have been got at, not away below, where you have to dig for it. It is blasphemy to change His plans." What disturbed the pasha, however, in truth, was not the blasphemy, but the interference with his "kef."

It will be seen that the Turk, as is the case with so many other peoples, is a bundle of contradictions. With some

noble qualities he unites some that are brutal and contemptible in the extreme. Those who see only the courteous host and the easy, suave diplomat, will defend him with all their power, while those who have felt the iron heel of his despotism, and seen the wanton outrage of his lust, find it hard to think that there can be any good in him. Probably the most typical Turk of the century is the Sultan himself. To the foreign ambassador, to the guest whom he delights to honor, he appears a man of kindly, even benign bearing, sincerely desirous of the welfare of all his people, sad at their distress, bitterly lamenting the cruel fate that has so weakened the power of his rule that he cannot do what he would, yet anxious to do all he can. To the official, however, who has displeased him, to the peasant in his village who pays him taxes, to the priest who seeks to perform the rites of his church, he appears a tyrant of the most unjust and cruel type. Which is correct? In all probability both. When all goes well, Abdul Hamid, like any other Turk, is kindly, hospitable, even generous. When, however, adversity comes upon him, and he finds himself face to face with disaster, not merely to himself, but to his boasted title of Defender of the Faith, the old Tartar blood enkindled by the ferocity of the Moslem Arab breaks forth, and he permits, if he does not directly order, the the most atrocious series of massacres known in history. With capabilities for the best, the Turk frequently manifests the worst elements in human nature.

CHAPTER V.

The Kurds.

Legend of the Serpents—Connected with the Medes—Tribal Organization—Nomad Life—Saladin and the Crusaders—After the Russo-Turkish War—The Hamidieh Cavalry—Brutal Treatment of Christians—Arabs—Circassians and other Moslem Subjects—The Nusairiyeh—Yezidis and Druzes.

THE passion for legend is illustrated in no better way than in the statements as to the origin of the oriental races. Even the wildest tribes share in this, and there have come down, through their famous story-tellers, narrative after narrative, to be taken not as authentic history, and yet as giving after all the kernel of authentic history. The Kurdish people are no exception to this rule. According to the story that is told in their camps and castles, extending all the way from the eastern end of the Black Sea to the very borders of the Persian Gulf, and from the mountains of Western Persia along the mountain ranges of Asiatic Turkey, they owed their origin to one of those acts of cruelty familiar to all Eastern history.

In the capital of Persia, in the ages long past, there was a king famous even there for his cruelty. Through many years his crimes went unavenged. At last the gods found them too severe, and in punishment sent two serpents to take up their abode, one in each shoulder. These serpents preyed upon his flesh, which yet was constantly renewed by a miracle of divine retribution, so that each morning found the body still unimpaired. The torture of the day brought to the

king's mind a suggestion of relief. Reasoning that his own flesh was no sweeter than that of his nobility, and that the younger the flesh the more dainty the morsel it furnished, he sent out among the wealthy families of his kingdom, and gathered in all the young men. Every morning lots were cast, and two of these were taken and fed to the serpents, that so they might be diverted from the body of the king. Naturally terror reigned throughout the kingdom. Fear and anger assisted the subjects to discover a way of cheating, both the king and the serpents, just as the king had hoped to cheat his tormentors. They reasoned that when the first taste of the serpents was sated, an ordinary sheep would satisfy their hunger. Accordingly each morning, lots were drawn between the two victims, one escaped and fled to the mountains, while his comrade suffered. This was carried on, for how long the legend does not say, long enough, however, to result in the gathering of a large number of these escaped members of the nobility in the mountains of Demavend, banded together to avenge the wrong upon them and upon their kindred against the king and all his forces.

This, according to the legend, was the origin of the Kurdish people. More authentic tradition states that a race variously called Gutu (warrior), Gardu, and Karu (whence Kardukas, Charduchi), occupied the mountainous eastern border of the Assyrian empire in the time of its glory. These were of Scythian origin, but were conquered by a tribe of Kermanj descended from Madai (Mede), the son of Japhet. In any case their mountain fastnesses furnished a sort of cave of Adullam, to which every man who had a grievance came, and a rude sort of feudal government arose. In some cases the men were followed by the women of their families; in others they

gathered wives from the plain in their raids. Thus there grew up a race in the mountains whose hand was against every man and every man's hand against them. Occupying a position on the border of several kingdoms, it was natural that they should become a thoroughly heterogeneous community, owing their origin to no one race and taking their characteristics from many. Still, whether due to the method of their life or to the dominant influence of some racial element, there resulted a very marked race, unity governing the diversity. Thus, while the Kurds of the North are in many respects essentially different from those of the far South, both in general appearance and even in language, there are certain characteristics of both that mark them all as being of one race.

Probably no absolute distinction can be drawn between the different sections. In general, however, it is legitimate to accept the classification of some of those who have made careful study of them. About the only published authorities are the Kurdish history, "Shereef Na'ameh," published in St. Petersburg, a report to the British Government prepared by Major Henry Trotter, British Consul for Kurdistan, and monographs by the American missionaries. Considerable information has been given by individual Kurds, for they have furnished not a few scholars, and upon the basis of this information they may be divided according to race, religion, government and mode of life, the lines of separation not being always clear, but sufficient to furnish the basis for classification.

Taking up first the question of race, there appear to be two general divisions, each with two subdivisions. First comes the great Jaff race, divided into Kermanj and Goran or

Kuran; second, the Wend tribes, divided between the Wends and the Lurs. The Jaff race includes those tribes occupying the country from the eastern end of the Black Sea as far south as Kerkuk in Turkey and Hamadan in Persia and throughout the mountains of Asia Minor. The Kermanj are by far the most numerous and include the entire population as far as the vicinity of Mosul and throughout Asia Minor, with the exception of a comparatively small number of tribes. The remainder are Goran. Of the Wends, the distinctive Wend tribe has its origin in Afghanistan and extends through Persia into Southern Mesopotamia. The Lurs occupy a section of Luristan southwest of Hamadan. If the total Kurdish population be estimated at three and a half millions, fully two millions belong to what may be called the Northern Kermanj tribes; about 400,000 to the Southern tribes, and about the same number (400,000) to the Goran tribes; while the Wends number in all about 700,000.

In religion all are Moslems, the great majority being Sunnis or orthodox; a comparatively small portion aside from the Wend tribes being Shiahs. They are in the main very scrupulous in their observations of religious rites, thoroughly enthusiastic and intensely loyal Moslems, looking upon all Christians with the most utter contempt. They are very largely under the influence of Dervishes, many of their leaders belonging to the different Dervish sects which abound far more in Eastern Turkey and Persia than in Western Turkey.

The general form of government is tribal, corresponding very closely to that of the clans of Scotland and such as is natural to all mountainous sections of country. As a rule, the chieftainship is hereditary, and in some families it has remained for a long time; in others the democratic element

KURDISH SHEIKH, from the region north of Harput. Many of the Kurds of that section were originally of Armenian origin. A great many of them are men of considerable force of character and ability, generally kindly in their disposition, and living for the most part on good terms with their Christian fellow-subjects.

GROUP OF XEIBECKS; a tribe of mountaineers inhabiting the mountain section inland from Smyrna. They are bold, reckless, rather brutal men, famous for their marauding expeditions, in which they plunder indiscriminately Moslem as well as Christian villages. In the Russo-Turkish war, numbers of them were taken into Bulgaria, where they committed the most atrocious outrages.

seems to rule, and there are frequent changes. In the chieftainship among the Wend tribes that position is held according to custom by the man whose prowess marks him as the leader. There are, however, considerable sections in which the tribal organization is practically disappearing. These mostly include the Lurs of Persia and some of those found in Mesopotamia and through Asia Minor. This loss of the tribal character is due chiefly to the contact into which they have come with the dominating power of the Persian and Turkish Governments.

Perhaps the most apparent division of the Kurdish people is according to their manner of life, nomad or sedentary. The distinction between these is not always easily drawn. In many cases the tribes are at one season of the year nomad and at another sedentary; thus some of the wildest clans of the mountains who spend their summers upon the plains wandering back and forth with their tents, are in the winter confined within their villages and have all the general aspects of a settled population. It is doubtless true that the general tendency has been from the nomad to the sedentary life, and many tribes whose ancestors a half century ago knew practically no abiding place, are now found year after year within the same geographical territory. But one of these divisions can fairly be said to have retained absolutely its nomad character, and that is the Wend tribe. They live on horseback, with comparatively few flocks or herds, and prey upon whatever country they happen to enter.

The great mass of the Kermanj are partially nomad, while the Lurs are almost entirely sedentary. The development of city life has had its effect, and there are a number of cities along the Persian border, including Kerkuk, Suleimanieh,

Rowandiz and Bitlis, where the entire Moslem population is Kurdish. In some cases these have retained a certain tribal form of organization though not of government, but in not a few instances that has disappeared, and to the traveler the Kurd appears to be an ordinary Turkish citizen.

The general characteristics of the Kurds vary somewhat according to these general divisions. The nomads, whether Kermanj or Wend, are lawless and often brutal to the last degree. The sedentary Kurds are in the main sturdy, but quiet and unaggressive. On the other hand there is a marked distinction between the sedentary Lur on the plains of Persia and his kinsman in the city of Bitlis. In general the Kermanj are the most aggressive; the Gorans show the most character; the Wends are the wildest, and the Lurs the most peaceful. Comparatively few have come into contact with any form of civilization, although some of the Goran chiefs, and even men of no particular position, have manifested ability of high order. One of the most successful ministers that the present Sultan has ever had, who has not only been ambassador to Germany, but has held the position of Minister of Foreign Affairs and even that of Grand Vizier at Constantinople, is a Kurd from Suleimanieh. The editor of one of the most successful papers at the capital, before the present intense censorship was established, was a Kurd from the same section; and one of the most efficient assistants in the preparation of the version of the Bible in the Turkish language was a Kurd who had no education in foreign languages, simply what he had obtained from Arabic, Persian and Turkish literature. No one can travel through the mountains of Kurdistan, south of Van, without coming in contact with men whose personal dignity of character and whose wide information astonish him. Not

a few who have known of these people have thought that possibly with them lay the solution as to the ultimate rule of that whole section.

Authentic history of the Kurdish people dates back not much more than three centuries. Before that time they were simply a collection of tribes with some racial unity, developing the idea expressed by the legend of their origin. Occasionally chieftains made themselves a wider reputation. Saladin, the famous Ameer of the time of the Crusades, was a Kurd whose nomad instincts and ability placed him at the head of the Moslem foes of the European kings. In the middle of the sixteenth century they came under the power of the Ottoman and Persian rulers, though the fealty that they rendered was perhaps scarcely worth the name. Until the latter part of the last century they confined themselves chiefly to the mountain ranges bordering Turkey and Persia, spreading out upon the plains merely for occasional pasturage, but within the last half century the tribes have spread east and west, but principally west. Little by little they occupied the whole of the mountain section of Eastern Turkey; then the mountain ranges skirting the Black Sea; then the Taurus, until to-day they are found in varying numbers and with some modified characteristics, yet still evidently of the same race, even as far west as the borders of the Salt Plain of Western Asia Minor.

The Kurds first came into prominence as an essential or at least important element in the problems affecting the Turkish Government, about the time of the Russo-Turkish war in 1876. Hitherto they had been looked upon chiefly as an element of disturbance, but not of dread. Whenever the government became more impatient than usual with their

raids, a strong hand was put forth and they were speedily brought to terms. There was no apparent thought on their part of any united action, or on the part of the Turks that they could be in any way made use of.

The siege of Erzrum and attending battles on the border first brought the Kurds into contact with the more advanced methods of western warfare. They had seen something of it at Kars in 1856, but there had not then been the advance made in the weapons used which characterized the conflicts of twenty years later, and it seems to have made little impression. On this latter occasion the Kurdish chiefs with their men hung on the outskirts of both armies pillaging each with scrupulous impartiality. They had no love for either Sultan or Czar, and looked upon the soldiers, whether wounded or dead upon the battlefield, chiefly as furnishing material for their own better arming. Two results followed. There was a marvelous distribution of modern arms throughout the Kurdish mountains, and a perfect revelation as to the methods of modern warfare and the power that even they might exert. More than this, however, there was borne in upon the Kurdish mind that neither Sultan nor Czar was omnipotent. The sudden arrest of the Russian advance and the subsequent evacuation of Erzrum could not in their mind be attributed to the power of the Turk. There must be other influences more mighty than he. In one way or another there came reports of the great Queen of England, the Emperor of Germany and his wonderful minister.

The author was lunching one day in a Kurdish village, not far from Arbela, when he had a call from a Kurdish Sheikh, who asked him to read the inscription on a magnificent pistol. He read, "Providence Tool Company, Providence, Rhode

Island." The Sheikh would say nothing as to where and how he gained possession of this weapon, but it did not require much shrewdness to identify him with one of the leaders, who brought terror to the stragglers, both Turks, and Russians, in the war that had only ceased two years before. More significant, however, were the questions he asked about Gladstone, Bismarck, Queen Victoria, the Czar, etc., and especially those in which he tried to sound the visitor as to the relations between those men and the Sultan and Shah. He did not get much satisfaction, but his talk came very vividly to mind a few weeks later, when a messenger from the most powerful chief of the mountains came to the same traveler to ask, in a strictly private way, how he could best come into communication with the Queen of England, whom he desired to recognize as his suzerain. It was easy to refer him to an English Consul, with the explanation that Americans had nothing to do with Oriental politics.

The first fruit of this was manifest two years later, when the chief who sent this last question declared open war on the Shah, and started on an expedition that for a time threatened ruin to the two large cities in Northern Persia. Sheikh Obeidullah was one of the finest specimens of the Kurdish chief. A man of wide acquaintance, shrewd judgment, boundless ambition, and fine bearing, he was evidently fitted to inaugurate a Kurdish kingdom. He was connected, too, with the Nakshibendi order of Dervishes, and could bring to his support the mighty influence of that, the most powerful order in Western Asia. When he started out from the fastnesses of the mountains north of Rowandiz there was terror everywhere, and not a few felt that not merely had a new element entered the conflict, but one whose power was beyond com-

putation. He traversed the plain south of Lake Urumia, appeared before the city, and even threatened Tabriz. He doubtless made his first attack on Persia, as the weaker of the two empires, planning, in case of success there, to measure strength with the Sultan. He doubtless hoped also to make such an impression as to attract the attention of Europe. He was disappointed, however. His followers, with no discipline or morale, proved absolutely unmanageable when it came to meeting even the play troops of the Persian army, and the tumbledown walls of Urumia. They soon became disheartened, feared lest they should lose the plunder already collected, and the army of many thousand men melted away like dew.

As a Turkish subject the Sheikh, under the representations from Teheran, was taken as a captive to Constantinople. He was confined for a time in an apartment of the palace, but managed to escape in the form of a green dove, as the nursery stories went. He was found, however, back in his old home, and again seized and sent into exile in Arabia, where in due time he died.

This experience, however, had its lessons for the Turkish Government. It was evident that there was an element of danger in the mountains of Kurdistan, which, added to the other dangers menacing the Sultan, from the activity of the Armenians, the pressure from the European powers, and the general hostility to his Caliphate among the Arabs, might easily prove very serious. Were the Kurds to join the Arabs, Turkish rule in Eastern Turkey and Mesopotamia would be at an end. Were they to join the Armenians the result would be equally disastrous. Such a thing may seem absurd, and yet it was not so absurd as might appear. The one power that seemed to Sheikh Obeidullah and doubtless to his friends

as the one to be courted, was England. England was well understood to be the patron of the Armenians. The Kurds had little hostility to the Armenians themselves. They were glad to plunder them when they could, and very ready to raise the Moslem cry if it served their turn; but in the main Kurdish and Armenian mountaineers had gotten along together fairly well. It was the villages of the plain that had the most to fear. Both alike suffered from the Turkish Government, both alike dreaded Russia. It is by no means inconceivable that the two should have united forces against both governments.

Whether this fear came to the Turkish authorities or not, it is certain that they took the most effective way to prevent such a union.

The two things that appeal most to a Kurd are plunder and finery. If he can appropriate other people's sheep and goods and dress himself in showy colors he is happy. With true Oriental shrewdness the Turkish Government took advantage of this and sent word to the chiefs to organize a portion of their men into a sort of irregular cavalry. They were to be provided with uniforms and arms, were to be honored with the Sultan's own name, Hamid, and called the Hamidieh Cavalry. At first there was some dismay, for it is the unvarying rule of the Turkish Government to send its soldiers far away from their own homes for active service. That rule was broken in this case. The Hamidieh were especially favored and permitted to remain in their own mountains, where they were authorized to act as police. The effect of this was to give them absolutely unlimited opportunity for plunder. The slightest defense on the part of the Armenians against a raid was sufficient pretext to warrant their punishment for open in-

surrection, and this was what happened throughout Eastern Turkey and even to the west, wherever the Kurds extended. The result has been to bring out into bold relief the worst elements in the Kurdish character. The atrocities committed by them have been horrible beyond description. They have showed no mercy to any. They have become so identified with robbery, murder and outrage, that not merely have the Armenians come to dread them as demons, but the Turks themselves often look upon them as the most dangerous allies. At the same time their innate cowardice as well as their weakness have been made most apparent. In every case where they have carried devastation to places of any size or strength it has been with the aid of Turks, and whenever the Turkish Government has really sought to ward off their attacks it has done so with perfect ease. In defenseless villages they have proved a perfect tornado of devastation, but in not a single city have they unaided been able to accomplish anything. In the attack on Harput, where the houses of the American missionaries were destroyed, they were assisted by the Turkish rabble from the city itself and by Turkish soldiers in disguise; but when, as at Mardin, they sought alone to attack the city, they were easily driven back.

The term Arab is applied in popular use to all the Moslem subjects of the Sultan who use the Arabic language, and they are found in Syria, Mesopotamia and Arabia. In fact a large number of these are not Arabs at all. In both Northern Syria and along the Lebanon, the great mass are Syrians who early accepted Islam, and are of the same race as their Christian fellows of the Jacobite and Chaldean Churches. Thus, in the cities of Aleppo, Mardin and Mosul there are comparatively few pure Arabs, although genuine Arab tribes

press very closely upon the borders of all these places. Arabia itself, being practically independent, with the exception of the provinces of Hejaz and Yemen, has comparatively little to do with Turkish history, and notwithstanding that the Bedouin tribes of Mesopotamia partake frequently of the general characteristics of the mountain Kurds, they still have come into little antagonism with Christians. They prefer the free life of the plains and are not feared by the villagers as are the rougher Moslems to the East. The chief interest for Turkish history connected with the Arabs arises from the control Turkey has held, ever since the conquering of Egypt, of the provinces of Arabia, where the Moslem religion has its center. The Arabs of Mecca and Medina, and also those of the province of Yemen, have always hated the Turk. The Moslem law says that the caliph should be a member of the tribe of Koreish, and to have that high honor, so dignified by the rulers of Bagdad and their followers, assumed by a Tartar from Central Asia is a standing grievance with the descendants of the Prophet and his kinsmen. Hence the Turkish hold upon those provinces has always been very slight, scarcely more than its hold upon any of the interior sections. Revolts in Yemen have become so common a phrase that they scarcely attract any special attention. The whole province is in a chronic state of disturbance, and almost at any time, were Arabs really to exert themselves, or could they unite, they could throw off the Ottoman rule. More important in many ways than the regular Arabs are the Syrians. They are shrewd, proud, ambitious, love display and manifest the peculiar characteristics of a race which for centuries was subject and then assumed the ascendancy.

The Circassians, who are found in numbers in Asia Minor, from Constantinople to Sivas, along the shores of the Black Sea, and also to a considerable extent in European Turkey, are mostly the followers of Schamyl, the famous leader who was defeated by the Russians in 1859. They are bold and daring, far more fearless and aggressive than the Kurds and are also of a higher type of ability and character. The Sultan listened to their appeal for protection and gave them a cordial welcome into his domains. He appropriated to them certain lands and then practically left them to claim possession and to extend their claim wherever they could. As a result, for a number of years they were a terror to all, Moslem and Christian. Gradually, however, they settled down and then their industry manifested itself and the Circassian communities in many cases attained a good degree of prosperity. Naturally they brought more or less of their brigand style of life and of dealing with them, and even the settled communities included not a few who relied for their subsistence upon plunder. One thing may be said in their favor. They brought their wagons with them from the Caucasus, and have done more perhaps than any others to change the method of transportation. Accustomed to rough roads in their old home, the absence of roads in Turkey did not terrify them and they set to work to make some, and to them perhaps more than to almost any other influence was due the gradual disappearance in certain sections of carriage by horse and mule caravan. Akin to the Circassians are the Lazes, found chiefly in the region of Trebizond. They, however, are of a lower grade, more brutal and less reliable, more easily led into outrage and violence of the lower order. Their

work is especially seen in the massacres in the region of Trebizond, Baiburt and Erzrum.

In Western Asia Minor, in the mountains back of Smyrna and throughout the generally rough country as far east as Angora, there are numerous Moslem tribes passing under one name or another according to the location—Xeibecks, Avshars, Yoruks, etc. They are a wild, lawless, brutal lot, a terror to everyone in the whole region. They know no restraint of any kind and put at defiance all law. Occasionally, when their depredations upon the plains or villages have become too severe, the Turkish Government has sent out some troops, but ordinarily they have held their own in the mountain fastnesses and plundered the villages and towns and carried into exile prominent citizens, holding them for heavy ransom. In this respect they have vied with some of the well-known Greek brigands, until it was scarcely safe for foreigners to ride out an hour's distance from the cities of Smyrna, Manisa or Aidin.

Ordinarily associated with Moslems and classed in a sense as Moslems by the Turkish Government, yet not belonging to them really, are three strange communities in Syria and Mesopotamia; the Nusairiyeh and Druzes in Syria and the Yezidis in Mesopotamia. The Nusairiyeh have their headquarters in the cities of Adana, Tarsus and Latakia, and number perhaps 300,000. Their origin is lost in obscurity. Some claim that they are descended from the Persians; others that they are the remnant of the tribes that Joshua drove out of Palestine. Their religious practices, which are held very secret, sustain the theory of their descent from the ancient heathen tribes of Palestine. They receive their name from a renowned leader and teacher, and their religious system was

brought to perfection by one of his descendants. They claim to be followers of Mohammed, but are really pagans, the claim being a diplomatic one, chiefly for the purpose of avoiding the terrible oppression of the Moslem rule. They hold to special mysteries into which none are initiated under eighteen years of age, and each applicant must bring twelve men as security, and these must each be secured by two others. He is then required to swear by all the heavenly bodies never to reveal the mysteries under penalty of having hands, feet and head severed from his body. It is, as a consequence, almost impossible to learn anything from them, and one of their number at Adana, who revealed their mysteries in part, disappeared shortly afterwards, and undoubtedly suffered the penalty. They worship fire, the wind, the waves of the sea—anything that manifests power; are hearty believers in the transmigration of souls, and occasionally have a strange mixture of paganism and Islam. They have numerous feasts, and some of their religious rights are said to be most vile. They are revengeful and practice blood atonement. They are thievish and tricky to the very last degree, and their general morality is very low. At the same time many of them manifest elements of character of great interest, and their shrewdness makes conversation with them almost fascinating. Their relations to the Turkish Government have always been uncertain. They have been heavily oppressed and have been called on to furnish tributes, but are such adepts in the art of deception that even the government has found it impossible to carry out all its designs with them.

The Yezidis are popularly known as devil worshippers, though this is probably incorrect and due partly to the secrecy of their rites, and partly to their idea of propitiating the powers

of evil. They belong to those Arabs who refused to accept Islam, and gathered in a loose organization under a certain sheik from the region of Damascus, in the early part of the twelfth century. Under Moslem rule they have in a certain way accepted Mohammedanism, at least in outward appearance, though they entertain a deep-seated hatred for Moslems, whether Arabs or Kurds, and are in return treated by them with contempt. They are found both in the mountains to the east of the Tigris and also in the Sinjar Hills west of Mosul, as well as in the vicinity of that city itself. Those in the mountains use the Kurdish language, but those on the plains use Arabic as well. They are an agricultural people, live in villages, and as a rule are neater and cleaner in their dress than either the Arabs or the Kurds. In the main they are quiet and industrious, but in the northern sections among the mountains they are given to highway robbery, and in the Sinjar Hills, where they are in the great majority, they are restive and hostile to the Turkish Government. Their religious belief is very confused. They believe in God as the Supreme Deity, but have nothing to do with Him in the way of worship or service. They believe in an emanation from God who is eternal, the Melek Taoos, or King Peacock, who became incarnate as Lucifer, deceived Adam and Eve as Satan, and is one of the seven gods who in turn ruled the world for ten thousand years. They also worship the Sheik to whom they owe the organization of their religious system, and various other gods. They hold to the transmigration of souls and give a qualified reverence to the Scriptures, the Old and New Testaments. They have a religious oligarchy composed of six orders; the Ameer, Sheiks, and priests, who are Nazarites, having taken vows of celibacy. They worship the

sun and fire, and once a year perform the service before the emblem of the Peacock, which is carried to the different villages. They have no liturgy and observe several feasts. Their relations to the Turkish Government have been not unlike those of the Nusairiyeh, except that they have suffered more severely than that community. In the early part of the present century there was a terrible massacre in which thousands of them were put to death.

More notable than either of these previous classes, although much smaller in numbers, is the sect or race of the Druzes, living in Northern Syria, along the slopes of the Lebanon. They have about one hundred and twenty towns and villages, and are estimated at a total population of 65,000. Their chief town is Deir-el-Kamar, about fifteen miles southeast of Beirut. Like the Nusairiyeh, they are generally supposed to have descended from the pagan peoples of the land, especially the Cuthites, who re-peopled Samaria; or perhaps partly from the Mardis, brought to Lebanon by Constantine, with an element of the Arabs and possibly something of the Crusaders. Their own traditions indicate a widely extended knowledge, and in their conversation and manners they show a certain refinement which is in marked contrast to the other Syrian races. The reputed author of their peculiar religion, which is held in secret by them, was a caliph of Egypt at the close of the tenth century, who was undoubtedly insane, but who left the impress of his ferocity upon the people. They do not acknowledge the claims of any other religion, but allow the profession of any religion according to expediency, and unite with the Moselm in many of his services. So also they at times will sprinkle with holy water in the Maronite churches. Far from being fatalists as the Moslems, they recognize

absolutely the freedom of the human will. Ordinarily they are quiet and peaceable, but on occasion are stirred to terrible ferocity, as was seen in the massacres of 1860, when they killed so many Maronites, and at the present time they furnish the Turkish Government with not a little cause for uneasiness. A threatened revolt in the winter resulted in calling out the reserves of the Turkish army, and for a time there was fear of a general outbreak. This, however, was averted and quiet was restored.

CHAPTER VI.

The Armenians.

Their Origin—Early History—First Nation to Accept Christianity—Dispersion Under Oppression—Change from Agricultural to Commercial People—General Characteristics; Loyalty to Nation and Religion—Industry—Morality—Intellectual Ability—Shrewdness—Jealousy of One Another—Influence of Missions and European Ideas—Growth of National Ambition—Armenians in Russia—Autonomy—Armenians in Other Countries—Patriarch Mattheos—Outlook for the Future.

THE Armenians are generally supposed, from their language, to be of Aryan origin, though having not a little in common with the Turanian, or at least the non-Aryan races. In the Assyrian period, their country was occupied by the Nairi and Urarda, both probably Turanian stock. When the Aryan Armenian migration occurred is not known, but the name first occurs, in the form of Armaniya, in a Persian cuneiform inscription of Darius Hystaspis, 522–486 B. C.

According to Armenian tradition, the name is derived from a king, Aram, under whose rule the nation achieved considerable power, though subsequently overcome by the mythical Queen Semiramis of Assyria. They do not, however, call themselves Armenians, but Haik, and their country Haiasdan, after Haik, whom they consider the son of Togarmah, the son of Gomer, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah. He, according to their traditions, established the Armenian kingdom in the vicinity of Ararat, to which country he had escaped from the tyranny of Belus, the king of Assyria, at an uncertain date, perhaps 2000 B. C. From that time on they were a more or less powerful people, sometimes achieving a period of independence, but generally succumbing to the attacks of the more powerful kingdoms that arose to the south and west.

ARMENIAN WOMAN. A good illustration of the Armenian type. The head-dress is that usually found in the Caucasus. The Armenian women, as a rule, are fine looking, with intelligent faces and womanly bearing. This is especially noticeable in the case of old women. Among the oriental races, as a rule, the old women are not handsome, but the reverse is true of the Armenian women.

AN EVANGELICAL ARMENIAN CHURCH IN CONSTANTINOPLE. For many years the congregation occupied a building which became unsafe through age and was taken down. Attempts were made for several years to secure a permit for a new building, but all failed, and the people in a single night put up this building for the purpose of having a place where they could worship.

Any accurate statement of those early years it is impossible to make. It appears to be the fact that most of their kings, among them Tigranes, the friend of Cyrus, the younger Chosroes of the family of the Arsacidae, and Mithridates, were not of Armenian origin, but chieftians from the neighboring races, Parthian or others, who by personal force of character gained a supremacy, and established for the time being what was called an Armenian kingdom.

On the defeat by the Persians of Chosroes, of the family of the Arsacidae, his young son Durtad escaped and went to Rome. He subsequently gained the assistance of Rome and was re-established upon his throne. It was through his influence in the latter part of the third century, that the Armenians as a nation accepted Christianity. This was the signal for renewed attacks by Persia, and the kingdom met with various fortunes, achieving a certain independence under the sway of the family of the Pagratidae, who for two centuries maintained a general authority in what was known as Armenia. In the middle of the eleventh century the Byzantine Empire became master of the greater part of the country, and in the fourteenth century the Ottomans commenced the reign that has been carried on till the present day.

Armenian history states that, in the time of Christ, Abgar, of their royal line, was king of Edessa or Urfa in Northern Mesopotamia. In other histories he is spoken of as King of the Arabs, but the Armenians claim him for themselves. The name is certainly Armenian. According to the chief Armenian historian, this king listened to the preaching of Thaddeus, one of the seventy disciples who were sent forth by Christ, and was also healed by him of a severe disease. The result was that he accepted the Christian faith, and was baptized

with his whole family. His successor, however, refused to follow in his steps, and persecuted the people so, that this incipient growth of Christianity was almost destroyed. In the time of Durtad (Tiridates), in the latter part of the third century, under the influence of Gregory the Illuminator, as he is called, there was a great revival of Christianity, and it was accepted as the religion of the nation. From this great preacher the Church receives the different names by which it is known, "the Gregorian Church," the "Loosavorchagan Church" (Loosavorich being the Armenian for "Illuminator"). Under his influence the king was baptized in 301 A. D., and although there was bitter opposition on the part of some of the nobles, the nation as a whole followed him, and the Armenians have the distinguished honor of being the first people to make Christianity their national religion.

Situated far from Constantinople, it was natural that they should not mingle intimately with the theological strifes of the early centuries. They were generally represented at the Church councils, but by some chance sent no delegate to the Fourth Council at Chalcedon in 451 A. D. The condemnation at that council of Nestorianism and Eutychianism was either misreported to them, or misunderstood by them, and at a synod of their bishops it was repudiated, and they declared themselves decidedly in favor of the Monophysite doctrine of the nature and person of Christ. There thus arose constant strife between them and the Greek Church, and more and more they were shut off by themselves, so that their national life developed, not merely independently of that of the surrounding churches, but to the exclusion of any external influences, such as materially affect the growth of modern ecclesiastical communities. They would not accept instruction at the hands

of the Western Church, had no means of education within themselves, and as a natural result formalism took the place of spiritual life. This was assisted by the constant strife for their existence as a nation, until the Church, as a church, lost almost its entire hold upon the spiritual life of the people.

The history of the Armenians for the five centuries intervening between the conquest of their home by the Turks and their coming into prominent notice before the Christian world in the early part of the present century, is one of constant conflict between the disintegrating influences of an oppressive government and the intense national characteristics of the people. From the very beginning they felt the terrible rule of the Moslems, and as far back as 1360 some refugees came to Edward III. of England complaining that the Moslems were trying to exterminate their people. A little was done for them. They were allowed to live in England and to collect subscriptions for their fellow-sufferers, but that was about all.

In a certain sense the result of the oppression was not altogether injurious. Up to that time the Armenians had been strictly confined within their borders. Whatever of tyranny had been exercised there had served to repress their national life. Now commenced a dispersion, with both good and evil results. They wandered westward over Asia Minor; quite a number settled on the northern slopes of the Taurus and established a kingdom with Sis as its capital. Cut off from their own people, they secured a patriarch to themselves, and there seemed every possibility of their forming a distinct nation. This, however, was destined to fall under the rule of the Turks, and they were scarcely distinct from their fellows in other parts of the empire. Others wandered eastward and peopled the Caucasus, which was then Northern

Persia. Shah Abbas recognized their value as subjects, and early in the seventeenth century transported a colony to the vicinity of Ispahan. This emigration naturally carried out of their own country some of the most aggressive elements, and as was not unnatural, those who remained felt still more the pressure of the surrounding Moslem tribes, who crowded into their villages. Thus little by little the ancestral plains of Armenia became more and more Moslem.

Another influence operated quite forcibly. In a preceding chapter reference has been made to the custom of villagers leaving their homes for a shorter or longer term of life in the cities and larger towns. This was especially characteristic of the Armenians. Constantinople, Smyrna, Trebizond, Adana and all the western cities of the empire, as well as many inland, depended entirely upon this form of emigration for their artisans and the great mass of their day-laborers. While many of these bachelors, as they were called, returned to their own homes, a large number became permanent occupants of the cities, sometimes bringing their families with them, sometimes making their own homes. In this way there grew up a class distinct in many respects from the original Armenian population, with different ambitions, differing needs and widely different customs. The agricultural character of the race began more and more to disappear and the people became known as tradesmen. With the control of commerce came the control of money, and these Armenian tradesmen were the bankers in the empire. They found their way into the service of the government, made themselves essential to the Sultans and governors, and amassed in many cases large fortunes.

We come thus to the situation about the time of the Treaty

of Paris. The Armenians, no longer a homogeneous people with a national territory markedly and distinctively their own, were scattered to the number of from three to four millions over the whole of the Turkish Empire, the Caucasus and Northern Persia. They had the same marked racial characteristics. Physically of good stature, strong features, manly bearing; industrious and frugal; loyal to their religion and to their nation; of marked ability, adapting themselves to any circumstances, whether of climate, social or political life; very kindly, sympathetic, affectionate; with an element of the jovial in their life; intensely proud of their history and their faith; clannish almost to the last degree, refusing such association with other races as might imply the loss of their own; of exceptionally pure morals among the Eastern races; intense lovers of home and family life, and hospitable in the extreme; with acute minds and suave manners, they manifested many of the essential elements of a strong nation.

There were, however, other features which must be noted. They were grossly ignorant and for the most part densely superstitious, held in absolute thrall by a Hierarchy bigoted and overbearing to the last degree, and fully as ignorant as the people whom they misled. Their constant strife with other races and their long history of subjugation had developed a shrewdness of dealing which partook in marked degree of the unscrupulous. They were ready to take advantage of anybody and of anything to further their ends. Obsequious and servile in their bearing towards superiors, they were looked upon by the Turk as a necessary evil; a fruitful source of income in the shape of taxes, advantageous for their general skill as artisans and as servants, but

beneath contempt for their trickery. Similarly they had the hatred of their fellow-Christians of other churches.

There was, however, another characteristic that has been recognized by their best men for years as operating more than almost anything else to keep them in subjection and prevent their best development. With all their intense nationality manifesting itself in their devotion to their history and to their church, their absolute refusal to be swallowed up in any other race or any other community, there is a lack of mutual confidence, a jealousy of one another's advance that has made it impossible for them as a race to hold together in any onward movement. This is undoubtedly due to intense individuality and also to the pressure of despotism. They are not by any means lacking in personal courage, as is witnessed by multitudes of instances. Individually they will fight for their lives and their honor and especially for their families. They will suffer martyrdom for their religion, as they have suffered repeatedly during the centuries. They will sacrifice personal interests for Christ's sake, but when it comes to the waiving of personal opinion, the entrusting of power and the rendering of obedience to others, they have throughout their history failed entirely.

A most marked instance of this was seen in the city of Erzrum. A wealthy Armenian from Russia, anxious for the education of his people, established a set of schools of very high grade, and for a time they were carried on most successfully. But before long there came jealousies in the management of those schools; mutual suspicion of personal interest on the part of the directors, and year by year what might have been the central point of Armenian national life dwindled in strength until it almost disappeared.

The result of these characteristics was manifest in the general situation of the Armenians, and their relation to the other peoples of the empire. They were in many respects the most useful, and in some respects almost the best hated of all. Their shrewdness and ability made them indispensable. Thus they were everywhere the tradesmen and small bankers, but at the same time had very little interest in general commerce. The business directory of Constantinople shows almost no Armenian firms, even for local business, and very few Armenian houses engaged in foreign trade. Then also, when Sultan Mahmud II. organized the government on a semi-European plan, he drew very largely upon the Armenians for his administration officials in the various departments, finding their versatility, ability and adaptability of the greatest value.

At this time they began to show the result of two very powerful influences from the West—those of American missions, and of French literature and social life. The influence of American missions among the Armenians has been a great power. While the proportion of those who have identified themselves with what is known as evangelical Christianity, in distinction from the excessive formalism of the old Church, which had largely lost its spiritual power, was not large, it included many men of great influence, and the general effect upon the nation in opening the eyes of the more intelligent to the possibilities of the new century were very marked. Wherever an American missionary went, there was a school, and not merely a school of his own, but a school for each of the different communities. The priests of whatever faith found that they could not afford to lose their hold upon the children and young people, and thus were sown far and wide the seeds of the intellectual life that was spreading so rapidly in Europe.

The general condition of the nation, so far as education was concerned, was deplorable. Throughout the villages it was rare to find a man who could read, and even in the towns and cities the proportion was very, very small. Many of the priests even were unable to read the Scriptures in the old language, which was to them practically dead. The introduction of these schools changed this in a marked degree. The natural intellectual activity of the race asserted itself, and over all the empire there was manifest a new impulse. So far as that impulse was due to the influence of the missionaries, it was in the line of good morals and the best national development.

Side by side, however, with this came another. As intercourse with Europe increased, adventurous young men spread throughout the schools of Paris and Vienna. They brought back a craze for French literature, not the best, but the worst. With this came a revolt against religion. It became fashionable to be known as free thinkers, and free thinking meant not liberty, but license of thought and of life. The immediate effect was almost appalling. The nation which had hitherto been noted for its strict morality, became widely immoral. Gambling was almost universal among the young men in the cities, on the seaboard, and the achievement of considerable wealth, while in the government service, and the openings of trade, had the effect of weakening national life. The pride of national life had not lost all its power, but the hold of national principles was becoming weaker. The best men in the nation looked on aghast, and longed for influences that should serve as anchors to keep the people. Thus there grew up a sympathetic feeling between the better class of Armenian ecclesiastics and the American missionaries, whose influence was strongly conservative.

The reigns of Abdul Medjid and Abdul Aziz were times of great advance for the whole Armenian people. Oppression still existed, and oppression of the worst form, but they were becoming more and more able to meet oppression. Not merely in the cities, but throughout the empire, and even in the villages, there was manifest a development which had, as has already been said, its tokens both of good and evil, the good, in the main, being predominant. The advent of the present Sultan, following as it did upon the revolution which showed how thoroughly rotten the whole Turkish fabric was, and accompanied by the events which resulted in the formation of the Bulgarian kingdom, seemed to open a new era to the Armenians. The young men who had been under the educating influences of the different schools and colleges of the Americans, or of the universities of Europe, were assuming positions of influence among their people. Furthermore, education in their own schools had brought sharply before them their own former history, and there was a great revival of interest in the early kings. The plains and valleys and mountains of Armenia were covered with a halo, which perhaps was not historically just, but which served at any rate to rouse the highest enthusiasm among the people. The use of their own language, which had drifted from the severe simplicity of its original form into a sort of mongrel, under the influence of the Turkish language and other surroundings, was coming back. Everywhere throughout the nation there was manifest an increasing ambition to do for themselves what the Bulgarians had done.

Accordingly, at the conference at Berlin, a prominent Armenian was present, and he set forth in very vivid and glowing terms the situation of his people. The political

effect of this is reserved for another chapter. We here simply desire to point out its effect upon the nation. That was undoubtedly in the main advantageous. It brought to an even higher pitch their desire for education; it bound them more closely together; brought them under the influence, to a greater degree, of the better class of leaders, and as a natural result the first ten years of Abdul Hamid's reign were coincident with an even greater advance in the general condition of the nation than had been made during the preceding twenty years. Parallel with this, however, there was another development, the result of two influences: the free thought of central Europe and the pressure brought to bear by their compatriots in the Caucasus.

Here we should turn aside to refer to that section of the Armenian nation under Russian rule. When Russia conquered the Caucasus, and drove the Persians south of the Aras and Schamyl's followers into Turkey, she found that for the development of the new territory she must depend chiefly upon the Armenians, who had already come in in considerable numbers. Accordingly they were made welcome and for some time a good degree of freedom was allowed them. Their national church was not interfered with, and though their schools were under close supervision, they were not prevented from developing to a considerable degree their national life. At the same time they were practically unrestricted in trade. The easy-going Georgians were no match for them, and in Tiflis, Schemachi, Shusha, Baku, Erivan, Armenian influence became very strong, so that it was not surprising that there arose a dream of national independence. They probably did not expect to wrest any portion of Russian territory from the hand of the Czar, but they did apparently

hope for a revival of ancient Armenia in that portion under Turkish rule. So long however as their condition in Russia was fairly comfortable they made little attempt in that direction. But it became apparent to the Russian Government as the years went by that there was danger lest they find difficulty in carrying out the general policy of the empire, which was to weld its very heterogeneous population into a solid mass. Accordingly a system of repression was commenced. Everywhere the Armenians felt the severe iron hand that drove the people on the Baltic to despair. Their schools were more and more interfered with. Their monastery and its theological department at Etchmiadzine were watched with the eye of a detective, and both in the choice of the Catholicos (the Primate of the Armenian Church) and in the conduct of his office, the authority of the Holy Synod was exercised in no slight degree. Naturally the people became restive. They had seen the success of the Pan-Slavist Committee in stirring up the disturbances in the Balkan Peninsula, and they conceived the plan of accomplishing the same thing for their compatriots in Turkey. The fuller statement of this will come in a later chapter on the Rise of the Armenian Question. Here we note simply that the general effect upon the Armenian people was to create still more of dissatisfaction with their situation under the Turkish rule and fill their minds with visions of political independence.

Parallel with this was the other influence referred to, that of the free thought of Central Europe. The young men who had been educated in the schools of France and Germany had become acquainted with the stories of the revolutions that marked the close of the eighteenth and the early half of the nineteenth century. Lacking the substantial basis of

careful investigation, not even knowing, or at least not recognizing, the true character of their own history, they sought to enkindle a flame not so much of revolt against the Turkish Government as of protest to Europe against that government's oppression. Had it not been for the irreligion, even atheism, that characterized their movement, they might perhaps have had greater influence. In fact they accomplished very little, for they immediately encountered the general conservatism of the nation, which declined to commit itself to the leadership of those who had thrown aside to such a degree the restraints of the Church. This was assisted by the conviction, or at least the fear, that these men were not so much interested in the general welfare of the people as in procuring opportunities for political advancement for themselves, and by the fact that for the most part they were out of the country and not liable to suffer themselves in case of trouble. The result was that there was no unity of action or of sentiment. No one man or body of men were authorized to speak for the nation. Individuals set forth their personal opinions, but there was no telling to what extent they represented the people. Constant intrigues weakened the power of the Patriarch at Constantinople, the civil head of the nation, and affected the choice of the Catholicos, at Etchmiadzine, its religious head. Furthermore, the very rigid censorship of the press, the oppressive and absurd school laws, and even the restrictions on travel, which made it no easy matter for an Armenian to go from one section of the empire to another, all combined to prevent any united action or even sentiment.

In general the condition of the rural districts had grown worse. Kurds, Circassians and Lazes held the greater por-

tion of the plains of Eastern Turkey, having dispossessed the Armenians, without making good their place so far as tax-paying was concerned. The result was that when the collector came around, he found the revenue much diminished, unless he could squeeze the same amount out of half the people. In the mountains there was occasionally successful resistance to the raids of freebooters, but that had grown more difficult since the organization of the Hamidieh Kurdish cavalry. On the other hand, in the towns and cities, the Armenians were advancing, at least in material prosperity. Not merely the trade and banking but the real estate had come very largely into their hands. They were on the whole wealthier and more comfortable. With material prosperity, however, there had not come proportionate intellectual and moral power, and the description given above was increasingly true.

The bearing of all this upon the question of their autonomy and independence as a nation is evident. That the Armenians have very many of the qualities that make a successful nation no one will deny. Their ability is undoubted. Their race tenacity evidenced in their loyalty to their faith, even in its weaker form, and the hold that their language has even upon those with whom it ceased to be vernacular, mark them as a people of power. Their faculty of adaptation to new circumstances in the use of any means that come to hand would ensure in marked degree success in meeting new emergencies. The mutual jealousy and inordinate self-seeking that have hitherto proved so serious a hindrance to their general advancement might very likely be overcome were they compelled by force of circumstances to waive personal feeling or see everything collapse. Men who could fight to-

gether as did the Armenians of Zeitun must have the best elements of patriotism. For the overcoming of these obstacles, however, it is essential that there be the pressure of outside circumstances. In the case of the Armenians that pressure was absolutely lacking. They were very differently situated from the Bulgarians, who were in the overwhelming majority in their own country, which moreover is compact. The Armenians are scattered over the whole Turkish Empire, and there are wide differences between those of different sections. The mountaineers of Bitlis can neither understand the language nor appreciate the ideas of the villager of Harput, much less those of the merchant of Smyrna or Constantinople. The men of Aintab and Adana, with their Turkish, can scarcely confer, still less associate intimately, with those of Marsovan.

Thus the very cosmopolitan character of the nation, its versatility and ability, all operate to prevent what the Armenian nationalists so much desire, and these characteristics must be kept in mind if we would form an approximately correct idea of the nation.

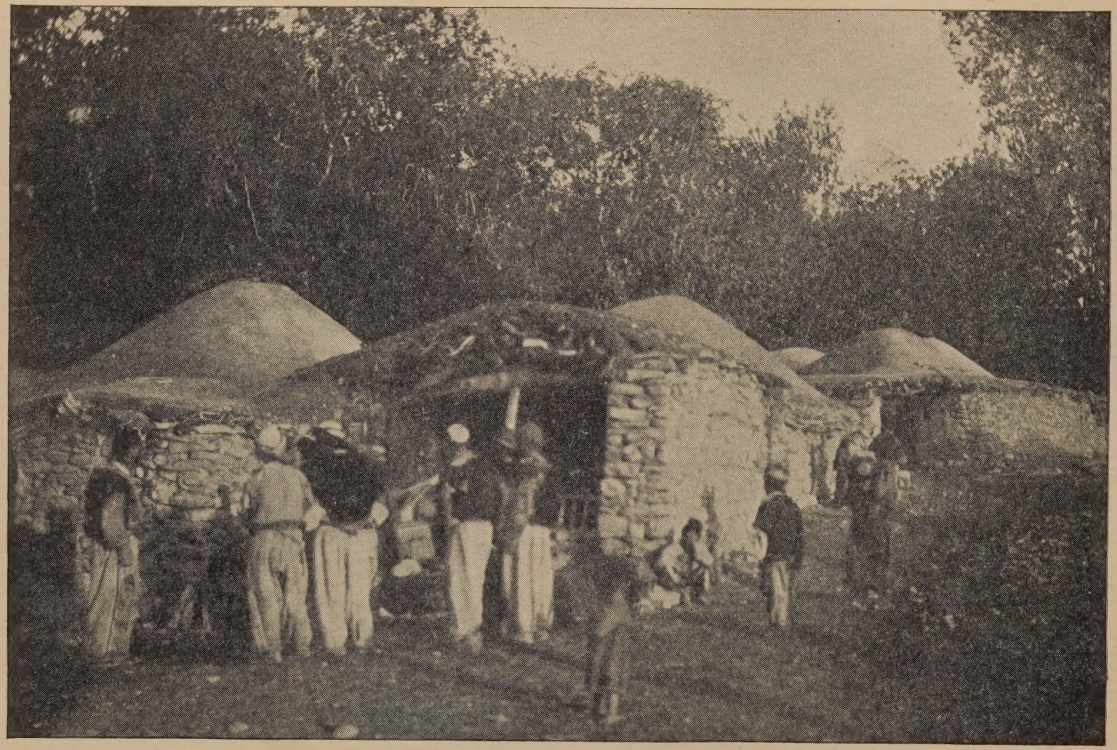
A word should be said about Armenians outside of their own country. As a rule Armenians do not make a pleasant impression upon the people of other countries. They are looked upon as tricky, scheming, unreliable. Where they have formed colonies of some size, as in New England and California, they are contrasted to their own great disadvantage with the communities of Scandinavians, Germans, and others. Where they appear as individuals in the cities, in trade or as artisans, they suffer from similar comparisons. In all such cases, certain things must be kept in mind. The colonies are almost entirely made up of those who come from

the poor sections of Asia Minor or Eastern Turkey, and even then are deprived of the refining influences of home as they have left their families in their own country. They are entirely uneducated, accustomed to very different kind of living, have not the language facility of those who have lived in Constantinople, and find it extremely difficult to enter into the new life about them. Those who gather in the cities are as a rule planning for a return to the East. They purpose to remain here long enough to make some money, or secure American citizenship, and then to go back to their homes. A few come expecting to stay and become loyal American citizens. Such as a rule find a cordial welcome and make a good impression. Two things must be remembered: the Armenian is essentially Oriental in his character and the true Oriental does not adapt himself easily or speedily to American life; those who know the race most widely and most intimately esteem it the most highly.

No better illustration can be given of the best development of the Armenian character, that which gives hope of their ultimate success as a nation, than the position taken by the present Armenian Patriarch in Constantinople. Mattheos Ismirlian is described by an American resident in Constantinople, as a man somewhat above medium height, thin and of dark complexion, but with strong, resolute face, having the large features characteristic of his race. He was born in 1845, in Constantinople, and received the name Ismirlian (the man from Smyrna, Ismir,) from the fact that his grandfather was originally a resident of that city. He was educated in the Armenian schools, and at the age of nineteen was made deacon of the Armenian Church in one of the Bosporus villages. In 1869, he entered the celibate college and was

ordained as arch-priest. His ability and industry brought him to the front, and he was elected successively secretary to the Patriarch, member of the assembly of the community and a member of the synod. He was noted as a preacher and teacher, simple, direct and intense in his style, and achieved a high reputation throughout the nation. He was also recognized on every hand as a man of unusual soundness of judgment and purity of motive. Seven years later, when only thirty-one years of age, he was ordained as bishop and was promoted rapidly. In 1886, he was made leader or director of the parish of Egypt, where he instituted numerous improvements, and his service was so efficient as to bring for him decorations from King Menelek, of Abyssinia, and the Sultan, but more than all, the devotion of his own people. After five years of service he returned to Constantinople and soon after, when there became necessary the election of a Catholicos, his name was prominent among the candidates. He refused absolutely to make any effort to secure this prize, coveted by every Armenian bishop, and yet his name ranked not only among the first four in the assembly, but on the subsequent ballot was one of the two sent to the Czar for selection. The choice fell upon Khrimian, also well and most favorably known throughout the nation, but it placed Ismirlian in the front rank for further honors.

In December of 1894, at the time when the affairs of the nation were most critical, as will be understood from the chapter on the condition in 1894, the one sentiment of all was in favor of him, but the question arose whether the Sultan would favor his election. He was well known as a man of great resoluteness and patriotism, and one who would never yield an iota of what he felt it was right to demand.



KURDISH MOUNTAIN VILLAGE. A typical scene in the mountains. There is a group of houses mostly connected by passages half under ground. The walls are of rough stone. The roof is formed, as seen, by rough beams, over which branches are stretched and earth over them, sometimes formed into a dome, in which there is a hole serving as window and chimney.

A TURKISH VILLAGE SHEIKH, probably connected with some one of the Dervish orders. Many of them are men of great intelligence and considerable force of character, especially those who are the chiefs of large communities.

He was elected, and contrary to expectation, that election was immediately confirmed by the Sultan. From that time on the Patriarch has been "in a very real sense the champion of his people, bearing their griefs and carrying their sorrows as few have done, in an office that has been filled by men of conspicuous consecration." Every legal means in his power has been used in behalf of his people, and threats of imprisonment or of death have accomplished nothing. Soon after his installation he sent to the Minister of Justice a letter asking power to appoint new bishops in places where the bishops had been imprisoned for varying periods. The reply came that the statements about those bishops were false, and their withdrawal was demanded. The Patriarch answered, "The statements are true, and the truth I cannot withhold." From that time to this he has been a thorn in the side of the Turkish Government; neither bribes, flattery nor deception have availed. Loyal to the Sultan, his loyalty refuses servility, as is instanced in his statement to the Sultan in his first audience: "As far as my conscience permits me I will obey you, but at the same time I must look to the welfare of my people." It is scarcely surprising that the Sultan in a rage sent him away and omitted the customary decoration. A little later, realizing his power with the people, the Sultan sent for him and offered him the highest decorations that could be given to a civilian subject in the empire. The reply came as follows:

"Your majesty, what have I to do with such things? I am a simple priest. I live on bread and olives, as do my people. I have no place in my house for such gorgeous things. I pray you, do not ask me to accept them."

Another illustration of his boldness and firmness is found

in the following statement, made to his people in the installation service: "Before God and in presence of this meeting, I swear to remain faithful to my government and my nation, and to watch over the just and explicit fulfilment of this constitution (the constitution granted by Abdul Aziz). My understanding of the word faithful is this: faithfulness involves on the side of the government protection of life and property. Without this, faithfulness on the side of the subject is hypocrisy."

It was not only towards the government, however, that the Patriarch had occasion to manifest his high courage. Recognizing very clearly the absurdities of the revolutionist movement, he steadily refused to give it any countenance whatever, and threats were numerous on the part of the disappointed Huntchagists that he should be killed. He feared this no more than the threats of the government, and has steadily pursued his way, holding to what he felt to be right and best for his nation. It is scarcely too much to say that such a man deserves the same rank accorded to the great leaders of the world, and a nation that can at such a crisis produce such a man and stand by him is a nation that under proper training, and with favorable circumstances, may be expected to develop a high national character.

The general situation of the Armenians at the present time is one that calls for the sympathy of the entire Christian world. They have lost a large proportion of their best men by massacre; throughout the empire it has seemed to be the unwavering purpose of the Turkish Government to cut down the very men who had most influence, and who most used their influence in behalf of good citizenship and upright life. The most conservative estimates, endorsed by the British

Ambassador at Constantinople, for the sections where there has been careful investigation, give the number killed at 25,000, and admit that the real number is far larger. For a nation numbering not more than 2,000,000 within the borders of the empire, to lose probably not less than 40,000 or 50,000 of its best men is a terrible thing, and the loss cannot but have a serious effect upon the future development. This, however, is not all. Not merely have these lives been blotted out, but property to an incalculable degree has been destroyed. The Armenian nation is shorn of a large part of its strength; whether there is enough left to give it vigor or power for the immediate future remains to be seen. The outlook is by no means hopeful, and yet seldom in the history of the world has the effort to blot out a race been successful. Whatever be the political outcome, as set forth in other chapters of this book, there can be but one hope for all those interested in the Armenian people, and that is, that they may by this terrible experience realize their weakness and unite their strength for a purer and truer national life than they have had at any time, even than many of them have dreamed of. This, however, will depend very largely upon the support accorded to them by the Christian nations of the world. If that support fails, then the responsibility rests, not alone upon the Armenians, but to a great degree upon those nations.

CHAPTER VII.

The Greeks.

Fidelity of the Oriental Churches—The Apostle Andrew—Concessions by Mohammed II Gennadios II—Suffering and Misery—Greek Revolution—Growth of National Spirit—Hellenes or Romaioi—Bulgarians in their Relation to the Greek Church.

TOO much honor cannot be paid to those Christians of the East, whatever their church connection, who have adhered unswervingly to their faith. The endurance of the Covenanters and Huguenots and Waldenses casts a halo, not only upon themselves, but upon the human family. It ennobles the race that any members of it were capable of such devotion. The sufferings of the Eastern Christians have been continuous, and may be traced back by a chain, wherein there are no missing links, to the day when their remote progenitors were first compelled to bow their necks under the foot of a Moslem conqueror.

Bondage, inferiority, contempt, are hard and demoralizing teachers. Rapacity, which renders labor fruitless, and insolent terrorism, which multiplies devices to make its victims cringe, are not favorable to the development of the higher, manlier traits, either in an individual or a community. Ignorant, superstitious, untrustworthy, the Eastern Christians too often are. Nevertheless, in view of the ceaseless, wearing ordeal which

they have undergone, their steadfastness and the many other virtues they do possess are all the more memorable and praiseworthy. Would we, children of the Pilgrim, of the Cavalier, of the Maryland Catholic and the Pennsylvania Quaker, have endured a like trial any better? Dare we assert that we should have borne it as well?

In that group of churches the most venerable and the most pathetic figure of all is the Eastern Orthodox, or, as it is commonly called in foreign countries, Greek Church. According to a tradition, so attested as to seem authentic history, the Apostle Andrew preached Christianity upon the Bosporus within three years of the crucifixion. Weaving into the Sacred story "the golden woof-thread of romance," the Byzantine Christians loved to tell that the Bosporus reminded the Apostle of his native Galilee, and that the first company which met to hear him was made up of fishermen like himself. Here he remained two years and organized a church and consecrated Stachys, the "beloved" of St. Paul, first Bishop of Byzantium. When Constantine transformed Byzantium into Nova Roma, and made her, in place of the older Rome, capital of the world, Metrophanes I, twentieth in Episcopal line from Stachys, exchanged his humbler title of bishop for the more resounding appellation of Archbishop of Constantinople, or Ecumenical Patriarch.

The Sees of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem, though reckoned Apostolic, seemed to the ordinary eye less exalted than the ecclesiastical thrones on the Bosporus and the Tiber. Between these two pre-eminent arose unchurchly rivalries and factional dissensions. Antagonism of East and West, more than subtle differences of creed, were to tear them asunder. Alternately separated and reunited, in 1053

the definite, final division came. Then was rent in twain what a Greek historian calls "the hitherto seamless garment of the undivided church." The cleavage line was as old as history and by a meridian of longitude accentuated the alienation. The Latins and the Teutons were in one party: the Greeks and almost all the Slavs in the other.

Around the Ecumenical Patriarch were grouped his Oriental brethren of the three Apostolic Sees. Second only to the Orthodox Byzantine Emperor in power and prominence, and by his spiritual functions even more exalted than his sovereign, the Patriarch was the most awe-inspiring personage in the state.

In 1453 the gradual overthrow of the empire was consummated by the fall of Constantinople under the resistless attack of Sultan Mohammed II. The childless, wifeless Constantine XIII was killed while leading the defense. The Patriarch Athanasios II, a faithful, feeble old man, disappeared and his after fate is a mystery. The former inhabitants of the city had either been slain in battle or reduced to slavery, or were endeavoring to save themselves by flight. The Sultan was not only a mighty warrior, but a sagacious statesman. He realized the necessity of reassuring the vanquished and calling back the fugitives and re-populating the deserted town, if his new capital was to be anything more than a soldier's camp. So he endeavored to allay the terrors of the Greeks and to treat with the only national organization which remained. The empire had been destroyed, but the church still lived.

He ordered the few surviving bishops to at once choose a new patriarch with all old-time formalities and without change in the manner of election. The vacant post was as arduous

and dangerous as it was eminent. Doubtless there was no desire on the part of any of the prelates to be chosen. The suffrages fell upon the austere monk George, surnamed the Scholarios. The Sultan wished the same ceremonial of investiture should be observed as in happier days under the emperors.

When Scholarios was sought for, he could nowhere be found. Up to the conclusion of the siege he had been a familiar figure, always fiercely declaiming against the Roman Church and inspiring whoever heard him with his own unyielding fanaticism. Several months of constant search passed away, during which the church continued without a visible head. At last he was discovered on the farm of a wealthy Ottoman at Adrianople. Taken prisonor at the capture, he had been sold and sent there as a slave. Released and informed of his nomination, the change in his condition could have appeared to him only as a change in the form of his slavery. A tradition asserts that the Scholarios in his youth had been ambitious of church promotion and had always aspired to the primacy of the East. Now that it was thrust upon him by a sanguinary and suspicious conqueror, even his stout heart may well have shrunk from the obligation.

Proceeding to Constantinople, he was received with kindness and honor by the Sultan. The Cathedral Church of Sancta Sophia had closed its more than a thousand years of Christian history and been made a mosque. The church of the Holy Apostles, the Saint Denis of the capital, where the emperors from the time of Constantine the Great had found a mausoleum, was left in the possession of the Christians and had been selected as their chief sanctuary. There the

Scholarios was consecrated with solemn, imposing, but melancholy pomp as Patriarch Gennadios II.

After his enthronement he was entertained by Mohammed II at a magnificent banquet. The Sultan bestowed on him a richly jewelled sabre, promised him his protection and friendship and on his departure accompanied him to the outer door. Riding on one of the Sultan's war-horses, wearing one of the Sultan's robes, attended by the highest of the Sultan's officers, he proceeded in state across the city to take possession of his ecclesiastical residence. To the few Greeks along the way, who cast furtive glances at their Patriarch and at his cortège, every detail of his attire and appearance must have emphasized the fact that the empire was no longer theirs and that their haughty church like themselves was fettered and enslaved.

Gennadios bore with him the still preserved berat or written promise of the sovereign, which guaranteed certain immunities and religious privileges to the Christians. It was therein declared (1) that no person should in any wise interfere with the ecclesiastical rule of the Patriarch and of his successors, (2) that the Patriarch and all the bishops should be exempt from tribute, (3) that the churches, not already converted into mosques, should be forever retained by the Christians in peace and safety, (4) that weddings, baptisms, funerals and all other Christian rites and ceremonies should be solemnized freely and without molestation, (5) that the Christians should observe Easter and all other religious festivals and fasts with perfect freedom and customary splendor. These promises have been often evaded or restricted, and sometimes enlarged. Still from that day to the present they have been as well kept as such promises usually are, when

made by a stronger to a weaker and when the weaker has no means of enforcing their observance.

The responsibilities and trials of his position were beyond the physical strength of Gennadios. Sympathetic and warm-hearted despite his asceticism, the daily spectacle of the suffering and misery among his flock overtaxed his endurance. Utterly worn out, in 1459 he laid down the patriarchal staff and withdrew to a monastery in Servia, where he died during the following year.

Since then, in the space of 437 years the throne has been occupied by just 100 different patriarchs. The average duration of each incumbency has been a little over four years and has been almost invariably filled with labor and sorrow. The fate of the Patriarch Kyril Loukaris, whose name is more familiar in the West than that of almost any other Eastern prelate, differed little from that of others of his brethren. Slandered and an object of suspicion to the government, deposed by order of the Sultan and imprisoned in the fortress of Roumeli Hissar upon the Bosporus, then bowstrung and his remains cast into the strait, he trod the same path of ignominy and martyrdom as Parthenios II, Parthenios III, Païsios II and many another of the illustrious line.

The last to meet a violent death at the hand of the Moslems was the saintly Gregory III, in 1821. The Greek revolution had burst forth in Moldavia and the Peloponnesus. The Ottomans rose in a frenzy of rage and terror, furious for victims. The Patriarch and his clergy at Constantinople had opposed the insurrection and could in no way be accused of complicity with the Greek revolutionists. But the sanguinary Ottoman Government and populace were indifferent as to considerations of political innocence or guilt, and eager

only for blood. On Easter Sunday the Dragoman or Interpreter of the Porte came to the patriarchate and ordered the Holy Synod to assemble. Then he communicated the command of Sultan Mahmud II, that the See should be considered vacant and that they should at once name a new Patriarch. Meanwhile the aged Gregory was hung to a beam over the great gate in front of his residence and his shrinking successor, after induction into his office, was forced to pass in formal procession close to the still warm remains. The reverent Greeks now point to a black beam in the archway and in low, awed tones repeat the story of the tragedy.

It was the idea of Mohammed II that Gennadios should not only represent his coreligionists, but be responsible for their tranquillity and submission. After each race riot or disturbance, the Patriarch must exculpate not only the participants of disorder, but himself. Most perilous was the honor of induction into the patriarchal office to him who filled it. Nevertheless the system inaugurated by the conqueror was of ultimate advantage in almost every respect to the non-Moslem community.

Under Ottoman domination the centre of the Orthodox Eastern Church remained at the same strategic centre, where for centuries it had exercised a potent force. Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, were not acquired by the Ottoman Empire for more than half a century.

When the patriarchs of those cities, whose Sees had endured every vicissitude under Saracens, Kurds and Crusaders, became in their later turn subjects of the Sultan, they found that their patriarchal brother on the Bosporus was already acknowledged by the Greeks all through the Turkish dominions as not only their spiritual father, but as, next to the

Sultan, their civil head. The time-honored titles of their sacerdotal rank still existed. There were no changes in the hierarchy of the changeless Church. Yet to the eye of the Moslem and practically to that of the Greek, there was henceforth but one Patriarch.

The official recognition of a non-Moslem authority as in a certain degree representative of a nation and intermediary with the Sultan, has exercised vast influence in determining the relations of the native Christians with the Porte. It was based upon religious grounds, but speedily extended to and included civil affairs. It was a natural sequence that the course pursued with the Greeks should be followed in dealing with other subject peoples. When, after the conquest of the Crimea, the Armenian residents at the capital increased, Bishop Horaghim was summoned from Brusa and installed Patriarch of the Armenians. In time a khakham bashi or Grand Rabbi was thus appointed for the Jews, a patriarch for the subject Roman Catholics and, no longer ago than 1850, a vekil or representative for the Protestants.

One result, which Mohammed II never dreamed of and would have deplored, was inevitable from this system. By it every person not a Moslem was bound in closer intimacy to the fellow-members of his own distressed community. Each was brought moreover into a closer identification of himself and his interests with his church. Through that church was to be obtained not only salvation in the future life, but whatever alleviation was possible in the present existence. The Ottomans have always sought to extirpate the spirit of nationality or of any common feeling among the conquered. They have welcomed every influence which would apparently foster divisions and produce antagonistic factions among those

whom they ruled. Thus they judged they could play party against party, interest against interest, and render each subservient and pliable to their own control. For a Mussulman to change his faith was, till within half a century, a crime punishable with death. But they rejoiced at and favored the labors of foreign missionaries among such of their subjects as were already Christians, thinking that thus there would be a multiplication of sects and a larger number of interests to set against each other.

Through the system inaugurated by the Conqueror, unwittingly in each community the instinct of solidarity was kept alive and developed. The intensity of a common sentiment among the proscribed was fanned to a hotter glow. Only during the last century have the rulers recognized their possible mistake.

The Constitution, craftily devised by the astute Midhat Pasha and promulgated in the name of Sultan Abd-ul-Hamid II in 1876, was designed to accomplish two results, one foreign and one domestic. The former result was to be attained in blinding the eyes of Europe to the real internal condition of the empire. The latter result should be the gradual but entire sweeping away of a policy of internal administration which was intrenched in its duration of over four hundred years. The scheme, so shrewdly contrived and so elaborate in its provisions, utterly failed. Mussulmans and Christians alike contemned it. Only for a short time did the Sultan himself observe its conditions. It accomplished nothing beyond the creation of vexatious questions between the government and the Greeks. The latter perceived that their scanty privileges were involved. For a time they were almost delirious with excitement and ready to resist by every means

at their command the abrogation of the system. The diplomatic skill of the Sultan conjured the difficulty and the annoying issues were forgotten.

A hundred years ago the feeling of nationality—as we understand the word—was practically non-existent among the non-Moslems except the Greeks. With them it was always keenly alive, even when destitute of outward expression. But among the other peoples a stranger would have concluded that that sentiment, so mastering to-day, was extinct. Even forty years ago politics seemed restricted, not only by necessity, but by common consent and preference, to ecclesiastical questions.

In European Turkey and Asia Minor, almost every non-Moslem, if not an Armenian or a Jew, was an adherent of the Orthodox Greek Church and hence, whatever his blood and vernacular, was reckoned and denominated a Greek. Up to the Greek revolution, every communicant of that church, whether Servian, Wallachian, Moldavian, Bulgarian, Bosnian or Orthodox Albanian, spoke of himself as such. Further examination would have revealed that these foster children of the church founded by Saint Andrew, these worshippers following the Byzantine ritual, recognized a broad distinction between themselves and the real Greeks. But a community of administrative and religious interests dwarfed so small considerations as those of language and race. Each readily accepted the label which circumstances had placed upon him.

The Hellenes or Romaioi, in whom the traditional pride and ambition through all their degrading servitude never slumbered, rejoiced in this state of things which was to their political advantage, and did their utmost to expand and intensify it.

With a lively appreciation of the past and an ardent anticipation of the future, they looked forward to the time when the Moslem domination should be swept away, and all the various tribes south of the Danube be readily absorbed in a resurrected Byzantine Empire.

It is a natural fact that the self-assertive sense of ignored nationality was first manifested in an ecclesiastical phase. The herald, for example, of the rousing of Bulgaria was the universal demand among that people that the bishops, sent to the region inhabited by them between the Danube and the Balkans, should be not Hellenes but Bulgarians. All should receive appointment and consecration as before from the Ecumenical Patriarch, but it was fitting that they should be of the same branch of the human family as the flocks to which they were sent. Every detail of creed and ceremonial was to remain unchanged. If the course hitherto pursued was followed, each new bishop on arrival in his diocese was regarded as an unwelcome foreigner. If the now longed for innovation was made, he would be hailed as one of their own kith and kin, from whose lips they would listen to their own tongue. The Patriarch and Holy Synod obstinately resisted the demand. If granted, it seemed to shatter every hope of an ultimately to-be-restored Greek dominion. Every argument, which ingenuity could suggest or which superstition and ignorance might heed, was devised to quiet the awakened aspiration. In the gospel there was neither Greek nor Jew; therefore it made no difference from what nationality a bishop was chosen; therefore it was appropriate that all the bishops should be Greeks!

In the peculiar medley of Eastern affairs, the final decision was to be rendered by no Christian organization, but by the

Mussulman Sultan. After months of delay it was announced and it was favorably to the Bulgarians. Forthwith the Bulgarians were anathematized by the Holy Synod, not for any error of doctrine or depravity of life, but on account of ecclesiastical insubordination. Lo, though Orthodox on every point, holding in all its minutiae the Orthodox creed, theirs is in the eyes of the Greeks a Schismatic Church. It is however in full communion and paternal fellowship with the Orthodox Church of Russia. The position of the Bulgarian Church is in other respects anomalous. Its spiritual head or exarch is confirmed by the Sultan and resides not in Bulgaria, but in Constantinople, where there are almost no Bulgarians, and near the palace of the Sultan.

Gradually during the century, territories have been lopped off from the Ottoman Empire and erected into sovereign states. Such are Greece, Rumania and Servia. Montenegro might be reckoned in the number, save that the heroic hand of mountaineers, which lives in her restricted limits, never acknowledged subjection. As political independence was achieved, there was a galling impropriety in the fact that a people, politically free, should bow to the ecclesiastical control of a religious organization over which the Sultan was master. So naturally and without shock have arisen churches autonomous, but revering the Ecumenical Patriarch as in rank and functions superior to any other prelate.

As the Ottoman Empire shrinks and outlying provinces drop away or are absorbed by neighboring states, the direct jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church of Constantinople is circumscribed in equal degree, but her indirect influence knows no diminution or change. Her long-bearded, black-robed clergy are the most imposing priestly body in the

world. An assembly of her bishops transports the stranger to the early Christian centuries with their hoary titles of Nice and Nicomedia and Chalkedon and Ephesus. Her formal worship is the most elaborate rendered in the name of Christianity. The devotion of her sons and daughters has grown the stronger in their common humiliation and distress. The active, tumultuous West may reproach her as unprogressive and inactive and lifeless. But her children glory in her and the Christian world may glory in her, as the Apostle of the Gentiles gloried in the Thessalonian Church, for the patience and the faith in all the persecutions and the tribulations which she endured.

THE CITY OF BRUSA. Mount Olympus in the background. In the foreground is an old khan and just behind it the mosque in which are buried the two first Sultans of the present dynasty, Othman and Orchan. This mosque is held in special reverence by the Turks.

LAND WALLS OF CONSTANTINOPLE. They extend for about four miles from the Marmora to the Golden Horn, and are now to a considerable degree in a ruined condition. The gardens in the foreground occupy the ancient moat.

CHAPTER VIII.

OTHER ORIENTAL CHURCHES.

The Syrian Church Divided into Syrians, Chaldeans, Nestorians, Jacobites, and some Roman Catholic Bodies—The Jacobites—Patriarch of Antioch—Condition of Villagers—Jebel Tur Region—Nestorians—Patriarch of Babylon—Badir Khan Bey—Chaldeans—The Copts of Egypt—Maronites and Druzes.

IN the provinces of Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Eastern Turkey we meet with comparatively few Armenians or Greeks, but large communities of Syrian Christians are numerous. The Church of Syria is the oldest of all the churches founded among the Gentiles. It was for centuries renowned for its theologians, its schools of learning, and for its activity in spreading the Gospel into the remote empires of Asia. The remnants of it which are found to-day in Eastern Turkey are but melancholy wrecks of a church once so flourishing and aggressive. Like battered hulks on an unfriendly shore, they bear witness to the fierce storms which have overtaken them in the progress of time; storms now of internal dissensions, now of violent theological controversies, and now of cruel persecutions and decimating international wars. Here on these fields of once great ecclesiastical activity have met in protracted struggle for supremacy Roman and Persian legions; here Mongols and Tartars have enacted terrible

scenes of massacre; Saracens and Kurds too have swept over the land, leaving wasting and destruction in their paths, and here now, in later centuries, the Turk has set his terrible iron heel, as if to crush out the feeble remnant of the Christian name altogether.

The numerous divisions into which this famous church is now disintegrated is as much a cause for lament as is its prostrate state under its conquerors. Syrians, Chaldeans, Nestorians, Jacobites, Syrian Papists, are names of separate and, in a degree, antagonistic bodies which the traveler meets at different points as he journeys from Aleppo to the Persian boundary. Each sect owns allegiance to some chief bishop or Patriarch of its own, each holding a different creed or ritual, and there is no intercommunion between any of them. The Patriarch of the Jacobites is resident at Mardin, of the Chaldeans at Mosul, of the Nestorians still farther east in the heart of the Kurdish Mountains. Zealous though these all are for their inherited creed and ritual, the form of Christianity we meet among them is by no means an ideal one. The ancestral organization remains. Rites and ceremonies as handed down from the early fathers are observed with a blind superstitiousness. There is a staunch grim loyalty to the Christian name, in the face even of much persecution for the name's sake. But traces of genuine spiritual life are rarely to be found among them. Their ancient missionary zeal, which carried their priests and bishops throughout Persia, Tartary and into China, has long since given way to a night of stolid indifference as to the spiritual fate of even their nearest neighbors. The struggle for self-preservation taxes to its absolute limit all their present religious ambition. And when we turn to find, if may be, some evidence that their ancient

learning may have survived the catastrophe that has extinguished all but a name to live, we discover that, too, has perished with the rest. Their language, once aglow with devotion and religious thought, is long since dead. Their clergy are sunk in deepest ignorance. The Syrian fathers were eminent as authors of commentaries and hymns, grammars and lexicons, but the highest attainment of a modern scholar among them is to be a good copyist of the old books and to repeat the vocabularies and grammars of the mediaeval times with slavish devotion to all their oddities and errors.

But each of these particular bodies has a history and conditions peculiar to itself that deserve a separate consideration.

The Jacobites cling proudly to their ancient name of Syrians ("Syriani") as we shall see do also the Nestorians. But both have become better known by the names derived from their great theological leaders. The Jacobites are so called from Jacobus Baradeus, a monk, who in the sixth century checked the tide of desolation caused by the Emperor Justinian's persecutions, revived their declining church, and, with almost incredible zeal, spread the faith throughout Syria and Mesopotamia. He established the Patriarch of Antioch as their supreme head, who styles himself to this day as the successor of St. Peter. Their attachment is strong to the belief that theirs is the ancient Church of Antioch where the followers of Christ were first called Christians. As there are two other Patriarchs, of the Greek faith, who make the same claim, there are no less than three prelates who bear this title, "Patriarch of Antioch."

The Jacobites hold to what is known as Monophysite doctrine, the oneness of the divine and human natures in Christ.

They have been estimated as some 250,000 souls in number, but it is far too large a calculation. Turkish statistics, however, are of no practical value for correctness. Their chief centres of population are Mardin, Diarbekir, Aleppo, Urfa, Jezireh, Mosul, and a district in the western mountains of Kurdistan, named Jebel Tur. In their common speech they use the Arabic, the language of their Moslem conquerors, but in their church services they adhere to their much revered ancient Syriac tongue. The church books are of distinguished origin and of venerable date.

In the height of their ancient glory the Jacobite Church embraced 159 bishoprics. Now, there are scarcely a score.

It once boasted of twenty-one monasteries. Of these but two are even occupied so far as is known. It is in one of these, the monastery of Zafaran, near the city of Mardin, where the Patriarch of the Jacobites has his residence. Here, perched high upon the rocks in a most commanding position, surrounded at a distance by lofty and precipitous crags, and near at hand by hillsides covered with vineyards, orchards and gardens, has been the patriarchal abode for some eleven centuries, except for two brief periods when the Kurds have seized it for uses of their own. The late Patriarch had visited England in recent years and through assistance received he restored a part of the famous old monastery and enlarged it, and had established a fine printing press, which the Turks, however, did not allow him to use.

The support of the monastery, with its score or two of monks, comes in part from their own fields, in the cultivation of which the clergy of the church, and the Patriarch himself, take an active share, and in part from contributions of the villages lying between Mardin and Jezireh.

The Patriarch is recognized by the Turkish authorities as having the right to exercise a measure of control in the civil affairs of his spiritual subjects. His people at least look up to him as their spokesman in time of trouble from the government, and he is expected to act as mediator between the two. The bishops of the church in their respective localities are also allowed something of the same authority. But they are a broken reed to lean upon as against the organized oppression practised under Osmanli rule. They are, indeed, themselves often the victims of the same relentless bondage. The very manhood of this once noble, energetic race, is well-nigh crushed out of them by the contumely and oppression to which they have been subject for centuries. The pity of a Western visitor mantles his face with a blush as he witnesses the cringing demeanor of these Syrian dignitaries of the Church in the presence of some Mohammedan lord, even when for the nonce the Pasha or Agha may treat them with courtesy and kindness. Yet in the presence of sympathizing Christians from Europe, it is surprising to note the manly, dignified bearing of these same men. When we come down to the common villagers, their condition is, as we might expect, pitiable in the extreme. Their moral and spiritual apathy is painful to observe, and added to this is their extreme industrial and financial distress, chargeable to successive famines and a pitiless government. In their times of greatest want and desperation, the government never diminishes aught of its exactions. Pharaoh's demand of the same tale of bricks without straw is repeated over and over again. It would seem at times as if the rulers had entered upon a settled policy to stamp out the entire Christian element of the population. In evidence of this we might cite the obser-

vations of recent very intelligent travelers through Mesopotamia. One speaks of passing through a number of ruined villages that showed how the process of depopulation had been carried on. The large stones in their buildings, the remains of well-built churches, and the large tracts of land that had once been terraced for vineyards, gave evidence of former thrift and prosperity. The legitimate taxes alone are exceedingly heavy, but they are often duplicated, or back taxes are claimed. All these additional burdens, with and without the knowledge of the central authorities, are laid upon the people, driving them almost to distraction. Abuses through unjust and corrupt assessment, extortion in collection, farming out the taxes, and the demands of petty landlords and soldiers, simply defy description. The people are largely in the hands of Aghas. These are the remnant of the feudal system of Turkey, descendants of the feudal lords, who became proprietors of the soil by virtue of a grant from the Sultan. The proprietorship has ceased, but the Aghas have their retainers, and exercise lordship over the people by force of arms. Each village is obliged to choose its Agha, and it is supposed to receive protection from him. But it is like setting a wolf to guard the sheep.

The Jebel Tur region, of which Midyat is the chief town, has long been the stronghold of the Jacobite Church. It is now gradually dying out under the crushing process practised by the Turkish authorities. To one familiar with the history of the place in the past twenty-five or thirty years, the change that is going on is distressingly apparent. Not only are mortgages upon fields and vineyards on the increase, but there is a decrease of stock with which to work them. The area of uncultivated land around the villages enlarges, and the

number of unkempt vineyards multiplies. Further marks of the business stagnation are seen in the dress of the people, and in the declining scale and style of living among all classes of the population. And if other evidence is asked for, it is found in the considerable numbers of families who have been obliged to go elsewhere in search of a living. The town of Sert furnished striking illustrations of this process, even before the massacre in 1850.

Thus we find repeated in the social and industrial conditions of this ancient Jacobite community the same proofs we have seen to prevail elsewhere throughout the empire, of the utter indifference of the Turkish Government to the well-being of its Christian subjects, if not of its covert intentions to gradually efface them from off the land.

Let us turn now to the other large division of the Syrian Church, known as Nestorians. They are sometimes spoken of as "Chaldeans," and again as "Assyrians." But for neither of these names does there exist any sufficient warrant either on historical or geographical grounds. They recognize no appellation for themselves except "Syriani." Their chief bishop claims for himself the title of "Patriarch of the East." But they will always be best known to the world as "Nestorians."

When Nestorius, from Antioch, being Bishop of Constantinople, was condemned by the Council of Ephesus, in the year A. D. 431, for his alleged heretical opinions regarding the Person of Christ, the "Church of the East," with its headquarters at Seleucia-Ctesiphon, warmly espoused his cause. They were consequently cut off from communion with the Western Church. Located so far to the East, beyond the reach of the persecuting acts of the Byzantine powers, they

enjoyed unusual liberty, and used it with enthusiasm to extend their faith at home and in remote lands. The growth of their church is one of the brightest and most interesting chapters in the annals of Christianity. By its wonderful missionary enterprises churches were planted from Egypt to China, and from north of the Caspian Sea to the southern bounds of India. The flourishing church in Persia was of their founding. It is admitted that they were the most numerous body of any of the then existing Christian churches. Nor were they conspicuous for their missionary zeal alone. Their schools, where Biblical theology and medicine were taught, were famed throughout Christendom. And when the Arabs became the patrons of science and learning, these Nestorian scholars opened to them the lore of the Greeks, and were allowed positions of honor and influence at the courts of Haroun Al Rashid and other Caliphs, at Bagdad. Under the Persian and Mongol rulers, this church, eminent as well for its liberality of opinion and catholicity of spirit, as its aggressive efforts, continued to flourish, despite seasons of severe persecution. But towards the close of the fourteenth century a terrible storm burst upon it. It was then that Timour, or Tamerlane, emerged from the far East, and swept the lands occupied by these Syrian churches as with the besom of destruction. His Mohammedan zeal added fury to his inhuman efforts to exterminate every trace of the Christian faith. He was far too successful.

The Patriarchal seat was removed from place to place in quest of a safe retreat. It is probable that about this time, in consequence of these desolating conditions, large numbers of these Christians found refuge from the tempest in the secluded fastnesses of the inhospitable mountains of Kurdistan, where they still dwell. A considerable portion of this people

are still found in Persia. The whole number in Turkey and Persia is probably about 100,000.

In the sixteenth century there arose unfortunately a schism in the church, resulting in the establishment of two Patriarchs, both holding to the same creed. One of these made Mosul his residence. In recent years a large body of this section of the Nestorian Church has conformed to the Roman Catholic Church, and is known as the "Uniat Chaldean Church," under a Patriarch, called the "Patriarch of Babylon." But in the earlier division mentioned, the larger portion of the Nestorians living in Kurdistan and Northwest Persia, accepted the Patriarch Mar Shimun as their head, who established his residence in an Alpine village, among the Kurdish mountains. His successors always take the same dynastic name of Mar Shimun, and for nearly four hundred years have made their home among these lofty crags and precipitous ravines. Where the valleys broaden out into wilder areas, the various tribes have built their villages, and through the centuries have maintained their national existence and their ancient faith at serious odds as against their neighbors and foes. The most important of these villages are Tiari, Tkhoma, Jelu, Bas and Dis. These Christian mountaineers are called "Ashiret," or *tribal* Syrians, while those living outside the mountains proper are called "Rayahs," or "Rayats," *subjects*. The Ashiret are semi-independent, and pay only a nominal tribute to the Turkish Government. The Rayahs are the prey of Turkish despoilers and Turkish exactors to a degree that makes life miserable. That the Turkish Government is either unable or indisposed to afford them protection from the Kurds is the substantial ground on which the Ashiret refuse submission to the constitutional authorities. The practical serfdom of their

Rayah brethren is before their eyes every time they step out on the hills and plains. They are largely in the hands of the Kurdish landlords, or Aghas, as are the Syrian Christians of Jebel Tur, already described. They are taxed to the starvation point. Their houses are miserable quarters for human habitations. They are mercilessly robbed and even murdered by the Kurds. Appeal to the government officials is seldom of avail; for these are either Kurds themselves or are surrounded by Kurdish gentry, once themselves the rulers of the country, whom it is the government's policy to placate now, as much as possible. Quite in contrast is the independence of the Ashiret, under their Maleks, or chiefs. They always go armed, are bold and warlike, and no Turkish officials or soldiers enter their tribal districts except with their consent.

Though possessing only the old-fashioned flint locks, they are often a match for the Kurds, who are armed generally with Martini-Henry rifles. Yet it is only by the most fierce defense of themselves that they have maintained their freedom against the sanguinary Kurds. And it is not strange that they sometimes betray the same wild traits of character as their hereditary enemies. But despite their desperate stand for freedom and the fear in which the Kurds regard them, they have suffered terrible assaults, which threatened at the time to utterly exterminate them. Such was the case in the terrible massacres perpetrated on them by the bloodthirsty Kurdish Chief, Badir Khan Bey, in 1843. By bringing an overwhelming force successfully against Tiari and Tkhoma he succeeded in almost annihilating their populations. Layard, the British explorer of Nineveh, and subsequently Minister and Statesman, who was in the mountains both before and after these occurrences, has described the inhuman slaughter

of the people of Tiari and Tkhoma in their homes, and the destruction of their churches and sacred books. In Tiari, after an indiscriminate slaughter of a crowd of assembled fugitives, tired of butchering, and knee-deep in blood and mangled carcasses, the Kurds forced the survivors at the point of the dagger to leap down a precipice on the rocks below. Not less than a thousand persons here perished. Mr. Layard visited the fatal spot in 1846 and described, with graphic pen, the terrible evidences still remaining of the awful transaction. The patriarchal residence in Dis was also sacked and the blood of nearly eight hundred, of both sexes, stained its valleys. The leading men were assassinated at a council to which they were invited to settle terms of peace. The Patriarch himself had escaped beforehand, but his aged mother was slain and her mangled body dragged to the river Zab, her murderers exclaiming as they threw it in, "Go, carry the news to your accursed son."

The story of the cruelties of the Kurdish Chiefs of those days will never perish from the legends of the Nestorians. It should be said, that under the pressure from the European Government the Turks sent a force against Badir Khan Bey, and he was captured, but the only punishment inflicted on him was banishment to the Island of Candia. There can be little doubt, however, that the Kurds were encouraged by the Turks in their nefarious job, with a view to the subjugation of these Independent Christians.

Every few years since these events, there have been reasons to fear a repetition of the Kurdish atrocities perpetrated by Badir Khan Bey and his fellow-fiends. In July, 1888, one of the summer encampments of the Tiarians, occupied chiefly by the women to care for the products of their flocks, while

the men are engaged in their little fields in the valleys below, was overpowered by a band of Kurds, who killed the few men at hand and outraged the women. The Christians were desperate for revenge. But a force of 8,000 Kurds promptly assembling, there was imminent danger of their falling upon the Christians in a general massacre. Speedy representations through the English and American missionaries led to energetic action on the part of the foreign Consuls which compelled the Turks to force the Kurds to retire.

But in the absence of any such general outbreak of Turkish fanaticism and outrage, the oppressions of the Christians whenever in the least exposed to their enemies are of incessant occurrence. The Patriarch, Mar Shimun, wears a sad, weary countenance, as the tales of wrong and injustice practised on his people are daily poured into his ear. Robberies, outrages and murders are on the increase; the bishops and chiefs, and even the Patriarch and his family, are continually exposed to insults and indignities at the hands of Kurdish chiefs. It is no great wonder that he believes, as most of the Kurds confess to believing, and observant travelers are compelled to the same conclusion, that the policy of the Porte is to allow the Christians to be impoverished and exterminated by the Kurds, provided that this is done so covertly that European nations shall not be aware of it.

The Patriarch's appeals for some sort of protection for his distressed people, which come to the ears of American and English friends, are truly affecting. And yet, even to these he scarcely dares to speak his mind fully. He receives a stipend from the Porte. The Turkish officials near him, at Van and Julamerk, keep a sharp watch over all he does. So, when his most trusted friends from Christian lands visit him,

he speaks to them in bated breath, and glares around in fear lest somehow what he may say shall reach the ears of his suspicious guardians, and the charge of treason be brought against him. Can any one imagine a more pitiable position for the head of this once renowned and widespread branch of the Christian Church?

The Syrians on the plain of Mosul are known as "Chaldeans," whether the larger body of them, who have conformed to the Church of Rome, and are under the spiritual jurisdiction of the so-called "Patriarch of Babylon," or the feebler community under the Bishop Mar Elias Melus, who have strenuously resisted union with the Romish Church. The Chaldeans in the city of Mosul are many of them merchants, fairly prosperous, as things go in that part of Turkey. The Rassam family, distinguished in the English explorations at Nineveh, are Mosul Chaldeans. A powerful Roman Catholic establishment in the city affords considerable protection to its own adherents. But the condition of the Chaldean villagers is much the same as that of the Jacobites and Nestorian Rayahs already described. They are often little else than the serfs of the Kurdish Aghas. And the oppressions are increasing from year to year. There can be little question that unless a thorough system of reforms is introduced, the whole region will soon fall into the hands of the Kurds. Yes, there is one other alternative which would bring them relief. If they would give up their faith, they might receive as efficient protection as their Moslem neighbors. But in all their poverty in things spiritual, as well as temporal, living in abject terror from day to day, they cling to their Christian faith as to their ancestral homes with a devotion that should compel admiration and the assistance of the Christian powers.

The blame that rests upon the Turkish Government for its chronic inefficiency in regard to these, its dutiful Christian subjects, is made apparent in the strongest light by two now well-known facts. The first is, that the Christians in Persia, also a Moslem Government, in precisely similar conditions, though the victims of much oppression from Kurds and Mohammedan Aghas, live in greater security and ease than their brethren in Turkey. The second fact is, that in the recent outbreaks against the Armenians of Turkey, the Governors of Mosul and Mardin, under the most imperative orders from Constantinople, repressed all attempted assaults upon the Christian population of those cities by the most rigorous measures. It clearly shows what the government might have done in other towns to protect the Christians if it had wished to do so.

It is due to say that the Sultan directed the Vali of Mosul to proclaim that the reforms which had been granted to the Armenians were to extend to all the Christian nationalities alike. The explanatory telegram was sent subsequently to say that these promised reforms were simply those allowed by his grandfather. It would be a joy to all classes—Jacobites, Nestorians and Chaldeans—if they could indeed go back to the brighter days of thirty years ago. Every year but envelops their fate in direr gloom and hopelessness.

Of the other Christian sects in the Turkish Empire the most important are the various branches of the Greek Church, those connected with the Roman Catholic Church, and the Copts of Egypt. The various branches of the Greek Church have already been described in a previous chapter. The Copts in Egypt are the descendants of the ancient Egyptians. They number about 500,000. They live almost entirely in

the towns, and furnish the greater part of the clerks, accountants and general administrative officers in the government. They are also to a considerable extent farmers and land owners, and have risen especially under the English administration. They are an intelligent class, and were it not for the oppression that they have endured from the past centuries they would be far stronger than they are. They form one branch of what is known as the Monophysite Church, akin to the Armenians and Abyssinians. They preserve their old language in their liturgy, but the language of daily life is entirely Arabic. The hierarchy with them, as with other Orientals, has been strongly conservative and oppressive, bitterly opposing every effort to educate and raise the people. Of late years, under the influence of the missionaries of the United Presbyterian Board of the United States, there has been an earnest effort to secure a better condition of things. This, however, has not succeeded to the extent that was hoped, and still the bishops and priests are a great obstacle in the way of intelligent laymen who desire the reformation of the church.

The principal community connected with the Roman Catholic Church is that of the Maronites. There are also Chaldeans and Armenians in some considerable numbers, passing under the name of the United Syrian and Armenian Churches, or Uniats. The Maronites number about 250,000, and are scattered all over the Lebanon and ante-Lebanon ranges in Syria. They are found especially in the northern districts, where they have complete control of local affairs. They also extend south to Mt. Hermon, in the heart of the Druze country, and they have always been on hostile relations with the Druzes. They take their name from their first Patriarch and political leader, John Maron, who lived in the latter part

of the seventh century, and under whose influence at the time of the various ecclesiastical controversies they declared themselves Monothelites. They then occupied the plains chiefly, but afterwards, under the invasion of the Saracens, fled to the mountains, and there maintained their independence for a long time. At that time they used Syriac in all their services and in their social life, and developed a feudal system with a sort of theocratic government, their head being styled "The Patriarch of Antioch and all the East." At the time of the Crusades they were brought to the knowledge of Christendom, and about the middle of the twelfth century opened communications with the Pope at Rome. They gradually adopted the Arabic language as their vernacular, and at the Council of Florence were received into the Roman Catholic Church. They were, however, allowed to retain their Syriac liturgy, the celebration of the communion in both kinds, the marriage of the lower clergy, their own fast days and their own saints. Little by little the power of the Pope over them was strengthened. A special college was given them at Rome, and schools for clergy and printing presses were established in Syria. A Papal legate was sent to Beirut, and the Maronites became most submissive followers in the Latin Church.

They first came prominently into the notice of the rest of the Christian world in connection with the famous massacres in 1860, in which thousands of them were butchered by the Druzes. The result of this was the redistricting of Syria under European intervention and the formation of the province of Mt. Lebanon under the rule of a Christian governor. At present they are a frugal and industrious people, mostly illiterate, except where schools have been established

BRIDGE OF BOATS ACROSS THE LOWER TIGRIS. Over the boats, which are of the very simplest construction, are laid poles, and over them rushes, the whole making a somewhat uncertain platform. In the foreground is a greyhound, such as are rather common in Eastern Turkey.

VILLAGE OF REED HUTS IN LOWER MESOPOTAMIA, together with a group of Arabs. These are not regular Bedouin Arabs, but belong to another tribe. These villages are found throughout the region south of Bagdad and in the neighborhood of Babylon.

under the pressure of the influence of Protestant missions. They have many monasteries and guard as specially sacred the famous group of cedars at the head of the gorge of the Holy River, where is the summer home of their Patriarch. Under the influence of the American missions the Jesuits and Lazarists have exerted themselves to keep their hold upon the young men. They have established a fine school for boys and have a large college at Beirut and fine library with very complete scientific apparatus. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions commenced work among these people early in the present century and it is now carried on by the Presbyterian Church. The distinctive Protestant community is not large, but has a very powerful influence, and the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut, with its medical department, has done very much to develop a better life among all these people.

At the same Council of Florence in 1439 that gathered the Maronites under the care of the Roman Catholic Church, there was formed a United Armenian Church, consisting of a number of Gregorian Armenians, who felt that it was best for the interests of their people to cease their separation from the Western Church. They have, however, not grown in numbers to any great degree, and are chiefly known through their monastery at Venice, which has been foremost in the development of Armenian literature. They are strongest in Constantinople and on the seaboard, though there are some congregations in the interior. They are as a rule looked upon by the Gregorian Armenians with more suspicion even that the Protestants, on account of their political relations with the French Government.

CHAPTER IX.

Rise and Decline of Ottoman Power.

Capture of Constantinople—Victories of Mohammed II—The Sultans Assume the Caliphate—Reign of Suleiman the Magnificent—Attack upon Venice—Constant Strife over the Danubian Principalities—Internal Disorganization—Weak Sultans and Powerful Viziers—Alliances with Foreign Powers—Repeated Disasters—Weak Rule in Asia—Revolt in Egypt and Syria—Condition at Commencement of Present Century.

FOR a little more than half a century after the foundation of the Ottoman dynasty, the Ottomans merely formed one of the many bands of Turks who roamed over Western Asia and Southeastern Europe, plundering the Christians where they could and fighting each other in a promiscuous contest for the supremacy; always, however, showing an upward tendency. Not only were they vigorous on the battle-field, but shrewd in their policies. The close of the Seljuk dynasty was the signal for the division of the once famous empire of Rum. One by one these divisions fell into the hands of the new Sultans; some by conquest, some by purchase, some by politics, until they were by far the most powerful element in that whole section. The weakening of the Byzantine Empire, and its practical loss of power over the Danubian provinces, tempted these Turks across the Dardanelles, and they measured swords with the Serbs, Wallachs and others. Under Amurath, the founder of the

Janissaries, they became a terror to all, and the flag, whose red color was established by himself as token of the blood that flowed wherever they went, was flaunted in the very face of Christian Emperors. Then, however, came a check; Timour-Lenk (Timour the Lame, Tamerlane), who had risen against his Sultan in the small canton of Trans-Oxiana, gathered to his standard the semi-barbarous tribes of Turkestan, spread through Khorassan, Persia, Georgia and Southern Russia; then south through Armenia and Mesopotamia into India. Then he turned again westward, and, influenced not a little, perhaps, by the presence in his court of some Turkish princes, deposed by the Ottoman Sultans, he captured Syria, and just as Bajazet was under the walls of Constantinople he heard that his own kingdoms were in danger. At the famous battle of Konieh (Iconium) the Ottoman power was broken; but with the death of Timour his empire went to pieces and the Ottoman line again resumed its power. For another half century advance was made even more rapidly than before, and on either side of the Bosporus and Dardanelles the arms of the Turks were victorious.

The capture of Constantinople, which followed in 1453, really marked the beginning of the Turkish Empire. The series of forays, with the occasional capture of an important city or even of a province in Asia Minor or the Balkan Peninsula, had become an organized campaign for the subjugation of the whole of Western Asia and Southeastern Europe. More than that, an entire change in form of government became necessary. Hitherto all of government that there had been was that of the army, and pertained to the immediate Moslem followers of the Sultan. The various tribes or nations who yielded to his arms, but refused to accept Islam, really had no

relation whatever to his rule. They paid what tribute was demanded, but there was no such thing as regular civil government. When, however, Constantinople was captured, this condition could no longer continue. It was essential that there be some definite relation arranged between the Sultan and the large class of Greeks who had come to form so important a part of the empire. He realized that the whole position was changed; that he was no longer merely a general, but an emperor, and an emperor over a very heterogeneous empire.

To begin with, there were the Greeks in Constantinople, all through Western Asia Minor and in Europe; there were the Armenians, scarcely recognized as a distinct people, with at the time no government of their own, scarcely more than a race, an ecclesiastical unit, held together by their church relations, and with a sort of tribal organization; there was the Syrian Church in its varied forms, Nestorian and Jacobite; there were the different branches of the Slav race, all combined under the Greek Church. Undoubtedly Mohammed II, would have been glad to have made them all Moslem. That, however, he could not do, and very possibly he realized that while such a course might flatter his pride, it would not be so advantageous for his treasury, for he collected taxes from Christians which Moslems would refuse to pay. Still, there must be some method arranged by which these different nationalities should not only have their existence recognized, but should be allowed a certain development with a view to the strengthening of the empire.

During the century that had elapsed since the Ottoman dynasty began, the various Sultans had come into contact with the forms of Roman government. They had taken advantage

of it in arranging for Moslems within the territories of the Greek Emperors, and the Roman system of one law for the citizen, another for the foreigner, was perfectly familiar to them. Mohammed adopted this principle, and basing it upon the idea, which dominates the whole growth of Moslem power, of absolute union of Church and State, developed the system which has governed in all that region until the present day, and established a series of communities centering about the different ecclesiastical leaders. Although it was not till a later date that the Sultans assumed the title of Caliph, they had practically ruled as Caliphs among their Moslem subjects. The same principle Mohammed II applied to the Christians of his empire. Recognizing the Greek Patriarch at Constantinople as the centre of authority, he called to that office the head of the party, which under the last Constantine had opposed a union with the Latin Church, and thereby, as he thought, had made his own conquest easier, and confirmed him in the dignity of the double office, civil and religious, which he was to exercise over his people. He associated with him the clergy and learned men of the church, and treated them with marked indulgence. He instituted a court, giving the rank of Vizier to the Patriarch and granting to him a guard of Janissaries. He established a system of government by which all community and social rights and duties were vested in the Patriarchate, which had sole authority in cases of marriage contracts, legacies, wills, divorces, and even had absolute authority in criminal matters, except such as directly involved the Sultan's authority. Thus there grew up a distinct community life involving a national life. The principle of the Moslem being that there could be no legitimate relations between himself

and the non-Moslem, there were accorded to these all the various community or communal rights. They had their own quarter of the city, town or village; their own shops, butchers, bakers, tailors; their own mills as well as their own churches. True, there was demanded of them a heavy tax, the regular capitation or poll tax, and the kharadj or military exemption tax, demanded of every non-Moslem male from the age of three years. These taxes were by no means light, and it was the general principle of the government to so administer them as to impress it very clearly upon the unbeliever that his condition was abject, and that even his life was a mark of the Sultan's favor. Still, there was a certain independence, and the Greeks gathered again to their city, and the wiser of the Sultans that followed Mohammed II carried out the idea of developing rather than of fiercely oppressing these communities.

With this granting of communal rights to the Greeks came in due time the recognition of the same principle in the case of the other Christians, and each was represented at the Sublime Porte by its Patriarch, with the various attendants of bishops and clergy.

One marked result of this course was to intensify the separation between these different nationalities. The communities of Greeks, Armenians and Syrians being so distinct, there arose more or less of strife between them as to which should secure the greater privileges and develop the most of community life. Hence the original hostilities arising out of the differences of creed and worship were emphasized rather than lessened, and whether intentionally or not, there grew up the custom under the Sultans of ruling in a great degree by force of jealousies between different classes of their subjects.

This general principle adopted in Constantinople was carried out in minor detail all through the empire. In every city Christians were organized into their communities and the ecclesiastical head, whatever he might be, whether bishop or priest or deacon, was recognized by the local government as the civil head of his community. Appeals could be made to his higher ecclesiastical authorities, and the whole power of the Turkish Government was brought to bear to enforce the decrees of these semi-civil, semi-ecclesiastical rulers.

It was not, however an easy thing to develop any system of this kind throughout the empire. Among the disturbing influences was the confiscation of the lands of the great Greek families and their transformation into fiefs, which were conferred on distinguished warriors who held them on condition of serving the Sultan with a certain number of followers, helped to solidify the empire, but operated very heavily to repress the Christians. It left them at the mercy of these feudal chiefs, and the situation during the centuries that followed was one of increasing oppression. This was assisted by the degradation of their own priesthood. Their position as civil representatives of their people detracted more and more from their spiritual teaching, and they became addicted to all sorts of intrigues.

Two notable results followed. One was the formation of bands of freebooters in the mountain regions, who preyed upon the plain villages in proportion as the feudal lords were careless or weak; the other was the gradual dispersion of these Christian communities. This affected the Armenians more than any others. They wandered here and there over the empire in search of some place where they should be left unmolested. It was about this time that they established

their quasi-kingdom at Sis in Cilicia, and spread over the plains of Northern Syria and of Central Asia Minor. Their kingdom had a short life, and the effect of their wandering from the ancestral home was to bring them still more under the oppression of the Turks, so that they even lost the ordinary use of their language.

Of the events that followed the capture of Constantinople it is impossible here to do more than to give the very briefest summary, and emphasize only such points as are most essential to the understanding of the situation as it is to-day. First came the extending of conquest, and during the thirty years that followed the capture of Constantinople, it seemed as if more had been done than at any time before. Servia yielded; then came Greece, although the famous Scanderbeg held his own in Albania. More than one historian has suggested that the effort to subdue him was only half-hearted out of regard for his bravery and for the memories of his early life with the Turks. Then Wallachia yielded and the people of Transylvania found the Moslem no severer ruler than Wlad, called by his subjects Drakul (the devil). Bosnia yielded its rule next, and war spread on southward and westward against the Albanians and Venetians. Meanwhile the princes of Karaman, who for a century and a half had held a varying rule in Central Asia Minor, were finally subdued and the Sultan's power over what is now Asiatic Turkey was practically complete. Again he turned to Europe, crossed the Dardanelles, took Moldavia and captured the Crimea, which had for a time been under the Khans of that country, though they had in turn yielded to a Christian republic, which had maintained itself for some time with its capital, the most important town of the northern Black Sea coast. Always,

however, there was the outlook westward, and although Venice checked the advance of the Ottomans, they still threw themselves upon Transylvania and made incursions into Hungary and Italy, and Mohammed II closed his reign with an attack upon Rhodes, which, however, was repulsed.

From the death of Mohammed II, in 1481, to the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, in 1520, there were expeditions into Hungary and Moldavia, and war with Venice and Persia, but no great additions to the Ottoman domain. This, however, was more than made up by the conquest of Syria and Egypt. The significance of these conquests was great as mere territorial enlargement of the empire, but more important still were the attendant influences which resulted in placing the Turkish Sultans at the head of the Moslem world. The last Mameluke Sultan, of Egypt, was hanged at the gate of Cairo in 1517, and Sultan Selim passed a month longer in that capital presiding at two great Egyptian fêtes—the opening of the Cairo Canal, and the departure of the annual caravan for Mecca, and received from the Sherif of Mecca the keys of the Kaaba. His army, however, became restless and he returned to Constantinople. To that city he summoned Mohammed XII, the last representative of the Abbasside Caliphs, to whom the rulers of Egypt had always given the honorary title. Selim required of him to relinquish the rights and distinctive ensigns of the Caliphate, the standard, the sword and the mantle of the prophet, and assumed the political and religious chieftainship of Islam. This conquest of Egypt and the assumption of the Caliphate attracted the alarm of European powers and resulted in treaties with Venice and Hungary. A second attack on Rhodes was

planned, but not carried out, and in 1520 Selim gave place to his son Suleiman the Magnificent.

The reign of Suleiman from 1520 to 1566, deserves more than a passing mention. It was the golden age of the Turkish rule, when the empire reached its greatest extent and achieved its highest success; when all Europe was either dreading its advance or treating for its assistance. But it was also noticeable for its internal organization, which remained until Mahmud II, under the pressure of the altered circumstances of 250 years later, made changes which have resulted in the present system.

The relations between Turkey and the European powers, inaugurated practically during this reign, will be treated of later. Here it is the purpose to survey the general history of that reign. The first act was the suppression of a revolt along the Danube, and Belgrade was taken, its Serb population being transferred to Constantinople in pursuance of a policy inaugurated by Mohammed II for the building up of that city. Then the Sultan turned his eyes to Rhodes, and with a fleet of 300 vessels and 100,000 men undertook its capture. For five months the Grand Master of the Knights held out, but was finally forced to yield, and betook himself with his men to Malta, where they planned anew the war against the Koran. Next to Rhodes, Hungary was the great object of the Sultan's ambition, and it was only a few years later that he made vast preparations for an invasion. At the battle of Mohacz, in 1526, the Hungarian kingdom was destroyed, and on the 10th of September Suleiman entered Budapesth.

Revolts in Asia, however, called back the Sultan, though the war continued in Hungary, and a second expedition was

started three years later. It was the Turkish theory that any place in which the Sultan had slept was within the bounds of his empire, and accordingly again Budapesth was occupied; this time, however, merely as a vantage ground from which to attack Vienna itself. The history of the defense of the Austrian capital is one of the most brilliant in the military history of Central Europe during that century. Notwithstanding the overwhelming power of the Turks, with their army of 300,000 men and 300 cannon, besides a strong flotilla, the Austrians, reinforced by the Protestants—so-called since the protest at Spires in the spring of that year—resolved to defend the place. The city walls were weak and out of repair, and the Sultan apparently thought conquest easy, for he sent a message that if the garrison would surrender he would not even enter the town, but press on in search of the emperor; if they resisted he would dine in Vienna on the third day, and then he would not spare even the child in the womb. They, however, would not yield, and he never entered. The bravery of the troops who gathered from every part of Germany, assisted by the valor of the citizens, repulsed the Turks again and again, and, as the season was advancing, the Sultan returned to Constantinople. A third expedition resulted again in a most humiliating disgrace; 350,000 Turks, led by the Sultan himself, were detained more than three weeks by a garrison of about 700 men at a little town in Styria. Germany amassed all its forces, and now there came in the influence of Western Europe. France had already made advances to the Turkish Government, and Venice, seeking protection for her commerce, had entered into treaty, and both of them through their ambassadors advised the Sultan, with a weakened army, not to meet the well-organized troops of Charles

V. The expedition, therefore, was reluctantly withdrawn, to be renewed again later, and again given up when a general truce was arranged with the German power. Meanwhile, however, Barbarossa had come in conflict with the Venetian Doria, and the Italian shore was threatened by the Turkish troops. But no great gains were made, and at the death of Suleiman, in 1566, no positive advance had been registered.

The internal history of the empire was in some respects more important than the external. Suleiman is known among the Ottomans as the Legislator. He organized the Ulemas, altered the system of fiefs, and arranged matters of finance, justice, civil and penal law, and the various departments of his empire. The general principle of land tenure was based upon the doctrine that the soil belonged to God, and thus to his representative, the Sultan. It was, however, apart from that reserved for the Sultan himself, divided into three classes; land occupied by Mussulmans after the conquest, subject only to the tithes; land let to conquered populations, especially Rayahs (non-Moslem subjects), who, aside from the tithe, paid capitation and exemption taxes; and the domains given by the Sultan as military rewards under the arrangement inaugurated by Amurath I. In general, the principle of the collection of taxes had been to make them as onerous as possible. Suleiman recognized the unwisdom of this, and introduced various modifications, which had the effect of lessening the harshness, and at the same time of increasing the revenues. He also looked very closely after the fiefs, demanding that only the smaller ones should be under the control of the governors of provinces; that the larger ones must be referred to Constantinople. This last order had special reference to the taxes levied by these governors upon the peasants. Notwith-

standing this organized system of revenue, the income was not sufficient, and additional contributions of one kind and another were laid, especially upon conquered provinces, such as Hungary and Transylvania, which resulted in the almost utter destruction of their prosperity. In the matter of crime, corporal punishment was sparingly inflicted. Almost every crime could be atoned for by the payment of a fine. Notwithstanding the brilliant success achieved, it was in this very reign that the decadence of Moslem rule commenced. The heavy expenses of the various wars, and of the organization of the empire, had a great influence in bringing about a condition of venality which rapidly sapped the strength of the government. Suleiman saw it, but allowed it to pass, only taking care that it did not interfere with his army. His power over the army, however, weakened. It had hitherto been the custom that the Janissaries should never enter war except under the personal lead of the Sultan. This privilege was withdrawn. Their numbers also were recruited by adventurers of every kind, and the general discipline was weakened by allowing them to marry, follow trades, and become stationary in the garrisons, where they were practically citizens, merchants, operators, etc. In the general conduct of the government also, the Sultan no longer presided over the Cabinet Meeting or Divan, as it was called. He confined himself more and more to his palace, and came under the effeminating influence of a luxury carried to such an extent that the surroundings of the Christian princes of Europe paled before the pomp of the Moslem Court. The formal condemnation by the Koran of such luxury was passed by entirely, the simplicity of manners to which the empire owed its advance was greatly corrupted; the use of wine became quite common,

and the use of coffee, just introduced, was carried to excess. The result was that in every department of the government there were sown the seeds of the weakness that manifested itself, with occasional exceptions, in the history of the succeeding two and one-half centuries.

The history of the following years, aside from the relations with the European Governments, must be passed over very briefly. They include expeditions to Arabia, the conquest of Cyprus in 1570, the battle of Lepanto, when the fleets of Europe—Spanish, Italian and Venetian—blotted out the Turkish marine, and freed the Mediterranean coast from the terror of their devastations. This was, however, somewhat compensated for by the capture of Tunis. There was chronic war with Hungary and Persia, that with the latter power resulting in the addition to the Ottoman Power of Georgia and a considerable portion of Northern and Southeastern Persia. The whole Balkan Peninsula was in a chronic state of revolt and subjugation. There were powerful Sultans, such as Amurath I, and great viziers, as the Kuprulis. At times the Turkish successors threatened again the peace of Europe, but they were generally used by one and another government, particularly France, as a check to the encroachments of enemies.

In 1669, "the Ottoman Empire included forty governments and four tributary countries: in Europe all Greece, Illyria, Maesia, Macedonia, Pannonia, Thrace and Dacia; the kingdoms of Pyrrhus and Perseus; the states of Treballi and the Bulgarians: in Africa the kingdom of the Ptolemies, with the territory of Carthage and Numidia: in Asia the kingdoms of Mithridates, Antiochus, Attalus, Prusias, Herod and Tigranes; those of the obscure sovereigns of Cappadocia,

Cilicia and Comagena; the territories of the Iberians and the Scythians, and a portion of the empire of the Parthians. Without reckoning the Greek Republics and the Tyrian colony, there were twenty kingdoms included in these forty governments, from the Syrtes to the Caucasus, and to the countries watered by the Hydaspes."

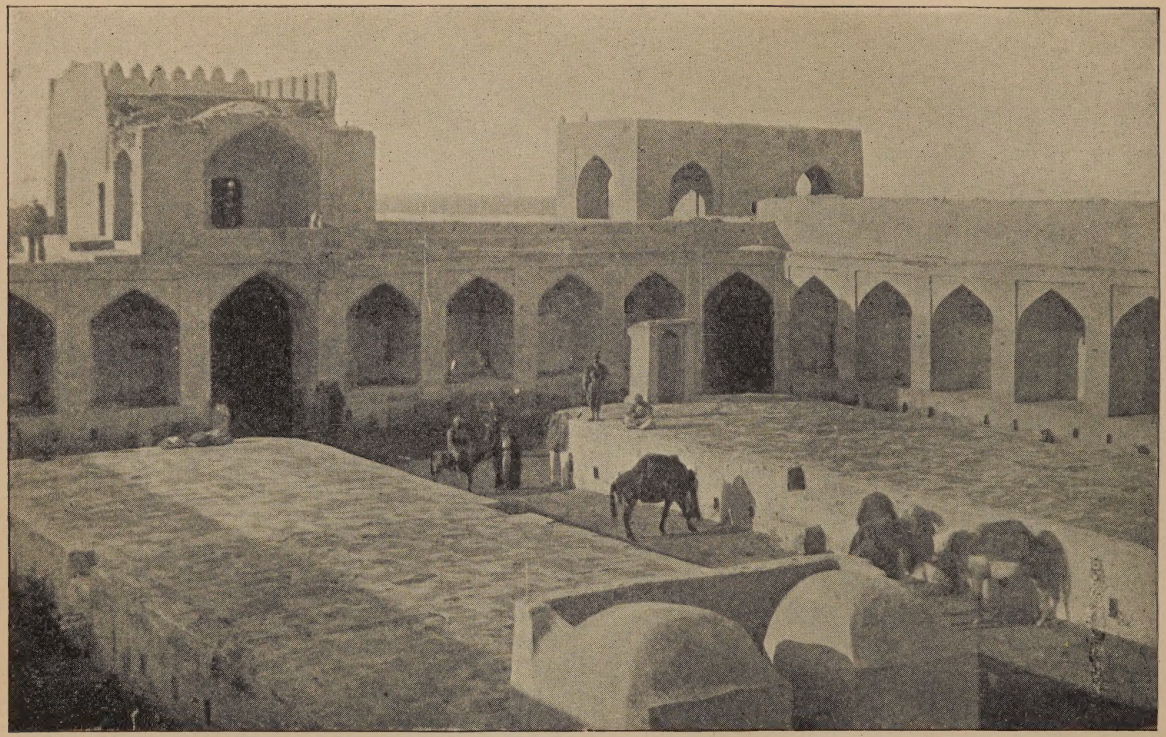
To these territories was added the lower part of Russia, held by the Cossacks of the Ukraine, who voluntarily submitted to the Sultan's rule as protection against the Russians and Poland. This occasioned the war with Poland, when the Poles were led by John Sobieski. The famous general, Kara Mustapha, in 1683, sought to rival the conquests of Suleiman, and with an army more powerful than any the Turks had ever sent from Constantinople, determined to besiege Vienna. The Austrian king called for Sobieski's assistance, and secured it notwithstanding the intrigues of Louis XIV, who vainly sought to convince the Pole that his real enemies were in Austria, and in that power of the north whom the Dutch papers had begun to call "His Russian Majesty." Loyal to his religion, however, Sobieski went to the aid of Vienna. His cavalry, aided by that of the Germans, put the Turks to flight after more than 10,000 of their troops had been left on the field of battle. Then came a panic, and the Turks fled in disorder, leaving an immense booty to the victors. Of this the King of Poland received as his share 4,000,000 florins, while arms studded with precious stones, and banners and treasures to a very heavy amount, were divided among the victors.

The war with Austria developed into the war against the Holy Alliance, a league against the Turks, under the protection of the Pope, and formed by the Emperor of Austria, the

King of Poland, and the Republic of Venice, to which also the Czar was invited. This war went on with varying fortunes until the peace of Carlowitz, in 1699. This period included the rule of the famous Kupruli Mustapha Pasha, one of the most successful and most noted of the Macedonian family, which supplied five viziers to the Ottoman throne. He was probably one of the most intelligent, courageous and humane statesmen of Turkey, and his death in battle was regretted alike by Christians and Turks, who named him Kupruli the Virtuous. The tide, however, had set against Turkey, and under the influence of William of Orange the intrigues of Louis XIV, were set aside, and Turkey signed the peace of Carlowitz. By this Hungary and Transylvania were ceded to Austria, with the exception only of a small territory. Poland recovered Ukraine and Podolia; Russia retained Azof; Venice on her part gave up her conquests to the north of the Gulf of Corinth and almost the whole of Dalmatia, and all the tributes paid by the Christian powers to the Ottoman courts were abolished.

This was the first great gap made in the Ottoman Empire, and from this time it ceased to be an object of dread in Europe. Hitherto it had been isolated and owed its greatness to that fact in considerable degree. Now it was dominated by its allies and had to submit to the influence of ambitious neighbors or interested friends. Its decline could no longer be hindered, and already there was upon its borders that power of the north, which, by gaining an entrance to the Black Sea, commenced really its European life.

The example of Kupruli the Virtuous was followed by Kupruli the Wise, who immediately set himself about improving the general condition of the empire. In the European



A KHAN OR CARAVANSARY. The alcoves are used by travelers in which to spread their rugs and store their merchandise in good weather. What appear to be platforms are the roofs of the stables, half under ground. In time of storm or in winter, most travelers occupy platforms in these stables.

A DOME VILLAGE IN NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIA. On account of the almost entire lack of timber the villagers are compelled to make their roofs by using sun-dried brick or adobe in the form of the dome. In the center of the dome, as a rule, there is a hole which acts both as chimney and as window. These houses are mostly connected by semi-underground passages.

provinces he favored his Christian subjects in regard to the payment of arrears of taxes, and in Syria he gave them freedom of pasturage for flocks. The Mussulmans under the general influences of the time retrograded in their devotion to their religion, and he strove by every means to recall them to the study and practice of that religion, but failed to keep a a hold even upon the Moslem leaders, and yielded his life to their intrigues. This was about the commencement of the eighteenth century, and through that century the history, so far as the immediate empire itself is concerned, is a varying one. It commenced with a time of peace, under the diminution of French influence and a general disregard of the Russian power. That, however, under Peter the Great, commenced aggressions that soon aroused Mussulman pride, which, irritated at the appearance of the infidel on the Black Sea, hitherto regarded as sacred to Islam, declared war. This resulted in the restoration of Azof to the Ottoman Government and the shutting out of Russia from the Black Sea. More and more, however, the influence of European politics (dwelt upon more in detail in another chapter) was evident in internal disturbances, which had their effect not merely upon Christians, but upon Moslems, and Russian intrigue played an increasingly powerful part in the general development of the empire.

Even throughout Asiatic Turkey the rule of the Sultan was scarcely more than nominal. The province of Bagdad was practically independent, furnished no revenues, and, although a certain suzerainty of the Sultan was acknowledged, even war with a European power brought no troops, which were held to be necessary as a defense against the Arabs. Throughout Eastern Turkey there were whole nations or tribes of

people independent of the Sultan and his pashas, and the Pasha of Trebizond was master of the whole country. Aghas, or independent lords, maintained armies even up to the borders of Smyrna, and the mountains throughout Asia Minor and the Lebanon were perfectly independent. Most of them, aside from the Armenians and Greeks, were Moslems, yet not a few sectaries, as Kurds and the Metawelis, united religious to political hostility. On the coast of Syria, only the ports were under strong Turkish rule, and caravans from Alexandretta to Aleppo dared not cross the mountains because of the Kurds. At this same time was developed the power of the Mamelukes in Egypt, under the famous Ali Bey, who joined with him an Arab chief, and dominated pretty nearly all of Syria. In 1770 the empire seemed near its dismemberment. The Russians held the Danube and Azof, Georgia was in rebellion, even Damascus was threatened, and Ali Pasha, of Janina, was laying the foundations of his power in Albania. The next step downward was the treaty of Kainardji in 1774, which gave Crimea to the Czar, accorded the navigation of the Black Sea to Russia, and ceded a portion of the Caucasus. True, some of the Danube provinces were regained, but this was of comparatively little moment. Another peace, that of Jassy, signalized an additional step in the same downward direction. Constantly there were increasing disorders in administration. The Sultans were less and less men of ability, dominated by the Janissaries or by the ecclesiastics, and Turkey became the football of the various strifes for predominance in Europe.

The present century opened with another war with Russia, when the latter invaded the Danubian principalities, taking advantage of a revolt of the Servians.

CHAPTER X.

Turkey and Europe.

First Intercourse—Alliance between Francis I and Suleiman the Magnificent—Intrigues between France and Austria—The First Treaty—Nature of Capitulations—Peculiar Favors Granted to the French—Their Recognition as the Protectors of Christians—Entrance of Other Powers—Louis XIV and His Ambassador—Influence of De Brèves—Peace of Carlowitz—Turkey No Longer Dreaded in Europe.

INTERCOURSE between Turkey and the European powers commenced with the first invasion of the Balkan Peninsula, but there were no formal relations until a Russian ambassador entered Constantinople in 1495. That, however, was not followed by important consequences, and Turkey did not commence its career of European influence until the time of Francis I, of France, about 1525. The French monarch found himself in a very difficult situation. The house of Austria had surrounded him, excluding him from the Mediterranean; not only that, allied with Venice, she thus controlled the Adriatic, possessed Oran and theoretically the whole northern coast of Africa; while her relations with Spain made her mistress of Barcelona, Naples and Sicily. France seemed to be shut out entirely from Mediterranean power. It was absolutely necessary for her at any price to find some counterpoise; to oppose to Austria some other power, which should perhaps by its own force, perhaps in alliance, enable

her to regain her legitimate influence in the Mediterranean and her commercial relations to the countries of the Levant. It is scarcely surprising that France looked with longing eyes to the Turks. Suleiman the Magnificent was at the height of his power and the foundation of his kingdom seemed impregnable. His armies were attacking Hungary, his ships held the Adriatic and the Black Seas; he could by no possibility come into rivalry with France; each had the same enemies; both were united by the same needs of commerce, and both had a warlike reputation to sustain. True, Suleiman was a Moslem and Francis I a Christian, and when the alliance between them became known there arose a general clamor against the "impious union of the Lilies with the Crescent." Whatever Francis thought, it is scarcely probable that he looked upon the Turkish power as likely to spread much farther west, and planned to use it as a weapon, which, after a time, he might lay aside. For some time messengers had been passing back and forth making full inquiry as to the condition of the Ottoman rule, and secret negotiations had been entered into with the Sultan for the protection of French commerce. It was therefore no matter of surprise that he sent an ambassador, who was, however, arrested and murdered on the way. A second was sent who carried a letter purporting to request the furtherance of the attack upon Hungary and proposing to use counter influence on the other side of the continent. This second envoy was received with great honors, and notwithstanding the fact that Francis was then in captivity, the Sultan expressed his royal determination to enter into alliance with the French king, the token of which was a letter written in 1526. This was the commencement of those alliances which for the succeeding 300 years,

with differing degrees of fidelity, were kept up, and proved of great value to France and of no little support to Turkey. Five years later came the reception of a special ambassador. Extraordinary honors were accorded to him such as have been given, it is said, to no Christian ambassador succeeding him. That these should be permitted by the Sultan's subjects is attributed by Turkish historians to a report that made Mohammed II, the Conqueror of Constantinople, the child of a princess of the royal family of France; intended to be the bride of Emperor John IV, but who had been taken captive in 1428. Austria at the same time sent an ambassador, but he could by no means secure the same treatment as his French associate. He, however, succeeded in securing the first peace concluded between the two governments, in 1533. The check given by Charles V to the advance of the Ottoman power along the African coast made him appear to the world as the liberator of the Christians and the terror of the infidels, and gave him such prestige that Francis felt obliged to get all the advantage possible out of his alliance. Accordingly the official envoy met the Sultan and a treaty was signed at Constantinople, in 1536. This was in the form of what is known as a Hatti Sherif, or an order from the Sultan which was the basis of all the treaties that have been concluded since that period between Turkey and the European nations. While substantially a treaty, it took the form of a concession, and from this has arisen the word "Capitulation" which has become recognized in all Turkish history as governing the relations between the Turks and Christians. It has always been contrary to the idea of the Moslem that a treaty can be made with Christians; concessions (capitulations) can be granted, and this is what has

repeatedly been done in the diplomatic relations between the empires.

This first treaty is extremely interesting. In it Suleiman gives to Francis I the title of *Padisha*, looked upon as sacred by the Turks, and it is said only accredited to one other Christian monarch, the Czar Paul, of Russia. The first articles were as follows:

1. That as there is peace and concord between the Grand Seignior and the King of France, their respective subjects and tributaries may freely navigate and go into their different ports for their commerce, buy, sell, load, conduct, and transport, by water or by land, from one country to another, all kinds of merchandise not prohibited, in paying the ordinary dues, without being subjected to any imposition, tribute, or other charge.

2. That when the king shall send to Constantinople, or to any other part of the Ottoman Empire, a consul, in like manner as the one he keeps at Alexandria, that consul shall be accepted and sustained in his authority and shall judge according to his faith and law, without that any judge or cadi shall hear, judge, and pronounce, as well civilly as criminally, upon the causes, processes, or differences which may arise, between the subjects of the king only; and that the officers of the Grand Seignior shall lend assistance for the execution of the judgments of the consuls, any sentence passed by the cadis between French merchants to be necessarily null and void.

3. That in case of any civil contestation between the Turks and the French, the plaint of the first named shall not be received by the cadis unless they should bring proof in writing of the hand of the adversary or that of the consul, and

that in any case the subjects of the king shall not be judged without their dragoman being present.

4. That in criminal matters the subjects of the king may not be brought before the cadi or ordinary judge, nor be judged at once, but be conducted before the Sublime Porte, and in the absence of the Grand Vizier, before his substitute, in order that the testimony of the Turkish subject against the king's subject may be discussed.

5. That no use shall be made of the merchant ships belonging to the king's subjects, nor of their artillery, munitions and equipages against their will, even for the service of the Grand Seignior.

6. That if any subject of the king quits the States of the Grand Seignior without having satisfied his debts, neither the consul nor any other Frenchman shall be responsible for them; but the king shall make satisfaction to the plaintiff upon the goods or person of the debtor, should it be in his kingdom.

7. That the French merchants and subjects of the king shall freely make their wills, and that the goods of those who shall die intestate shall be remitted to the heir by the care and authority of the consul.

The importance of these articles is very evident. Theoretically there could be no cordial relations whatever between Christians and Moslems. The more enlightened judgment, however, that had already recognized the necessity of a *modus vivendi* with the Christian subjects of the Sultan, recognized now also a similar necessity in connection with the great states to the west with which the Sultan must come into relation, but which he could not hope to conquer, at least for some time to come. Thus there was introduced the

important innovation in the law of nations, since developed into the principle of extraterritoriality, and recognized in all treaties between Christian nations and Moslem or pagan governments, where the habits of life, the national customs and general laws are of necessity very different. This treaty gave to the French the advantage of their national laws and customs even under foreign rule; recognized that in certain respects they had more rights and liberties even than the Sultan's subjects had, by acknowledging the protection of their national magistrates. As was inevitable, out of this came the development of small French colonies centered about the mercantile houses; consuls also lost largely their commercial character and became civil magistrates and even political agents. It is probably to this treaty that is due the fact that to-day all foreigners are classed under the general term of "Franks," which has also been applied even to many of the Christian subjects of the Sultan.

But there were other articles of this famous treaty of great importance. The French were guaranteed the absolutely free exercise of worship. Their bishops and other priests of this "Frank" religion, of whatever nation, were to be left undisturbed wherever they dwelt, provided they kept within the bounds of their condition. Thus, by an easy extension, France secured the right of protection over all Catholics in the East, and thus over the holy places in Palestine, as well as over all the edifices of the Church. More than this, the French flag became the protection for European merchants of other governments not allied to the Porte by treaties, and, as a matter of fact, every Christian nation was obliged to seek the protection of the French king in its trade with Turkey. A third condition was the liberation of slaves, and the Sultan,

on his side, agreed not to enslave the French, while the King of France granted the same privilege with regard to Ottomans. The signing of this treaty was in many respects the most significant event in Turkish history. Probably without any realization of its ultimate results, the greatest Sultan that Turkey ever had voluntarily placed limits upon his relation with Christians, and laid down the principles which have governed Turkey in her foreign treaties ever since.

Previous to this time the only treaties between the Ottomans and European powers had been certain commercial treaties with Venice. These had dated from the first incursions of the Turks into Europe, and in them Venice was placed upon the footing of a vassal and tributary of the Sultan. This was done as early as 1408, and tribute varying from 1,600 to 10,000 ducats was paid at different times until the capture of Constantinople, when peace was purchased by an annual tribute of 36,000 ducats and the sending of a representative to Constantinople, whom the Turks regarded and treated as a hostage.

The alliance between Turkey and France went through various stages. At first Francis I seemed not quite to realize the whole bearing of his alliance with the Turk, and sought to come to terms with Charles V. The conditions, however, were not acceptable, and the result was a new alliance, notwithstanding the fact that the ambassador who was charged with the duty of securing the alliance was assassinated on the way. Undoubtedly at times the French king was very anxious, for his new allies seemed to have as much desire for the French coast as for that of Spain. Still, they were essential almost to his very existence, and he maintained terms of harmony. After the middle of the sixteenth century,

however, the alliance was merely political. It had been entered upon on the part of the French in order to limit the house of Austria; on the part of Turkey for the purpose of attacking more easily the countries of Europe. The end of the former was obtained by a treaty, which suspended the struggle with Austria for nearly a century; and the latter found itself barred by Hungary, Italy and Spain. The next was a renewal, on the part of Suleiman's successor, of the capitulations already made, but with certain modifications rendered necessary by the developing hostility of Turks for Christians. New privileges were also added. Every Frenchman settled in the country was perpetually exempted from the capitation tax; French officers were allowed to search for French slaves seized by Mussulmans, and to demand punishment for those who stole or captured them; the Sultan also engaging to make restitution for such acts of piracy. French ships were treated kindly, and given assistance in case of running aground on the shores of Turkey, and the persons and effects of those who were ship-wrecked were to be respected. The most important of all, perhaps, was the fact that the French enjoyed to the full the privileges which the Venetians secured only through payment of tribute. The result was that France was mistress of the commerce of the Mediterranean, and she improved the opportunity, so as to establish Catholic missions with the consent of the Sultan, and convents were located even in Constantinople. At about this time (1569) Turkey and Russia first measured their military strength, and Turkey was driven back from the Don, and a scheme for a ship canal, which should connect the Black Sea and the Caspian by the Sea of Azof and the Don and Volga, was stopped.

A few years later, in 1577, these privileges were enlarged, so that France was acknowledged the protector of very nearly all Europeans who sought to reach the Levant. Her ambassadors had precedence of those of other Christian lands, and especially of Spain, while Englishmen, Portuguese and some others were dependant upon the French flag for protection. England, however, was unwilling to rest in this situation, and the first ambassador sent by Elizabeth to the Porte obtained capitulations analogous to those of France, but limited to commerce. He also sought Turkish aid against Spain, as France had against Austria, but with less of success, the Sultan caring less about the Spaniards, who were far away, than the Austrians, who were near at hand. Russia also in 1786 sent ambassadors with rich presents, and it was scarcely surprising that the Ottomans were greatly exalted by their victories. Poland solicited the arrangement of treaties; Venice congratulated the Sultan upon his success over the Germans; the English ambassador accompanied him in person in his campaign, and France reconfirmed her alliance. It was at the close of the sixteenth century that France was represented at Constantinople by Savary de Brèves, who did for France what Lord Stratford de Redcliffe did later for England. By the shrewdest means he gained such influence that a Turkish historian says:

"It very nearly happened that in the house of Islam a veritable enthusiasm was declared for France by the secret dealings of its accursed ambassador."

That influence was powerful in many ways. It prevented the conversion of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre into a Mosque; turned aside the Sultan's anger from the island of Scio; protected the Christian churches in Constantinople from

the attack of the Janissaries, but found even then that English influence was not easy to overcome. The British ambassador had succeeded in persuading the Porte that other nations, which had hitherto come under French auspices, might enjoy the same privileges under the English flag. Other powers also gained advantages: Poland secured capitulations, as also the Republic of Venice; and the United Provinces of the Low Countries obtained for the first time, in 1612, a treaty similar to those which France and England enjoyed. The use they made of this was characteristic. The Dutch introduced the use of tobacco into the empire. In vain did the priesthood try to oppose the innovation; the soldiers and common people rose against them and they were compelled to revoke their decision.

It is interesting to note the defense that De Brèves made of the alliance between France and Turkey against the scruples of his own countrymen, and the declamations of others, who made this the basis of an accusation of treason against Christianity. Not only, he said, were the commercial advantages very great, and the political prestige most valuable, but Christianity itself was greatly advanced, inasmuch as it appropriated every sort of merchandise to be gathered from the East, and was enriched by the accruing wealth. He also dwelt upon the preservation of the Christian name and of the "Catholic religion." This is stated somewhat more fully in another chapter.

French influence, however, suffered after the time of De Brèves considerable change. This was due primarily to the fact that the general policy of the Sublime Porte toward the European Governments was no longer that of war, but of peace, so that this alliance was open to all. The entrance of

other ambassadors brought other influences, and nations hostile to France used the ignorance of the Turks to further their own ends. So also France found Turkey of less use than formerly, finding surer and less dangerous allies in the Protestants of Germany. Other reasons were the weakness of the Ottoman Sultans, and also the weakness of the French ambassadors; the former paid no attention to the capitulations, claiming that they were under no obligations to keep their word with Christians; the latter, ignorant of the religion, laws and customs of the Ottomans, had no knowledge of when to waive their peculiar prejudices, and when to insist upon the preservation of their rights. This was especially noticeable during the first half of the seventeenth century, and had its results in serious losses to the Roman Catholic Church, and the general cause of Christians in the empire.

The reign of Louis XIV was a continued series of intrigues, demands for renewals of treaties, recriminations against the bad faith of the Ottomans, support now of the Venetians and then of the Turks; until, in 1670, a more skilful ambassador than France had sent at any time since De Brèves, secured special favors. The customs duty was reduced, the King of France recognized as the unique protector of the Catholics of the East, and above all, French merchandise coming from India given the through passage by the Red Sea and across Egypt. The French ambassador regarded Egypt as the true route to India, and after much negotiation and many threats, in 1673 the new treaty was signed. True, the question of through passage to India was not mentioned, but private arrangements with the Pasha of Egypt secured that favor. The treaty, however, was not destined to have great results. Henceforward the policy of France was not to advance in

cordial relations with her Turkish ally. She laid down her arms when Turkey commenced war, and Turkey made peace as soon as France entered upon a campaign. The result was evident in the development of the house of Austria, and the establishment of the power of Russia. In marked contrast to the course of France was that taken by the Poles. Already reference has been made to the effort of Louis XIV to secure the alliance of Sobieski and allow the Turkish Government free course in its effort to overpower Austria, and to the Pole's noble defense of Austria as the greatest Christian barrier to the spread of the Moslem power. One result of this action was the establishment of the Holy Alliance, when Austria, Poland, and Venice commenced the war against the Sultan, which ended only in the peace of Carlowitz, which had this chief result—that Turkey was no longer an isolated power, but closely bound to the interests of Europe.

CHAPTER XI.

Russia and Turkey.

Aggression of Peter the Great—Diminution and Renewal of French Influence—The Contest ove: the Holy Places—Victory of Russian Influence in Favor of the Greek Church—Russia's Religious Propaganda Among the Greeks—Rise of Phil-Hellenism—Dismemberment Talked of—Effect of the French Revolution—The Russian Fleet in the Dardanelles—The English Fleet at Constantinople—Peace of Tilsit—Plan for Partition—Accession of Mahmud II.

FROM the Peace of Carlowitz the history of the Turkish Empire is involved with that of Europe to a degree hitherto unknown. The varied schemes of ambitious rulers, the influences of popular movements, were felt even across the Bosporus, and Turkey becoming no longer an Asiatic but a European power, found itself in a situation singularly incongruous. There was all the old Ottoman pride, which had its sharpest illustration in the custom of throwing European ambassadors into the prison at the Seven Towers whenever there was danger of hostilities, and there was also that recognition of commercial relations and need which militated so sharply against the former as to inevitably result in the decadence of the following centuries. The eighteenth century opened with considerable diminution of French influence and with marked aggression on the part of the Czar.

Unfortunately for Turkey the Porte knew little and cared less about the entrance of this last element, and paid little attention to the efforts made by Charles XII to stop the advance of Peter the Great. The battle of Pultowa had a strange result in the reception of the Swedish King by the Sultan and the combination of his efforts with those of French ambassadors to secure an alliance against Russia, which, however, would have failed, probably, had not the Russian fleet appeared. The embassy of the Czar to counteract their efforts appeared on a squadron which entered from the Black Sea and cast anchor before the windows of the Seraglio.

The following years were a kaleidoscope of war and peace, treaty and aggression; now with Russia, now with Venice and Austria, resulting in the peace of Passarowitz, in which Peter pledged himself not to appropriate any part of Poland or to meddle with the government of its republic, but to make every effort to prevent the sovereignty and hereditary succession from being attached to its crown. A second article was the securing of freedom for Russians and Turks to travel and traffic in all safety in each empire. Pilgrimages to Jerusalem were to be subjected to no pecuniary exactions and Russian ecclesiastics throughout the East were to remain unmolested. Thus was taken the first step toward the dominating power of Russia in the Holy Land, which has since had so great an effect. The next step was the alliance between Austria and Russia to secure the ruin of Turkey notwithstanding the alliance with France. Again treaty was followed by war and war by treaty, until by the treaty of Belgrade the desert territory of Azof was to form the boundary between the two empires; commerce on the Black Sea was to be free, with the condition, however, that the

GENERAL VIEW OF CONSTANTINOPLE from the heights above Scutari on the Asiatic shore. Immediately in front is the harbor opening into the Golden Horn and the Bosporus on the right and into the Sea of Marmora on the left. The two prominent mosques in the city are, on the left hand Sultan Achmet, and on the right hand St. Sophia. On the extreme right is the fire tower. The point of the city is occupied by the gardens of the Seraglio.

VIEW OF ADRIANOPLE, IN EUROPEAN TURKEY.

Russians should only employ Turkish vessels. For this the credit must chiefly be given to the French ambassador Villeneuve, who restored the prestige which had fallen low under the successors of De Brèves.

The Frenchman's next victory was the developing of a treaty of friendship and commerce into a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between the Porte and Sweden, for mutual support against the aggression of Russia. He also, in 1740, secured a formal treaty of friendship and commerce between France and the Porte, which has only been renewed once since, in 1802, and which still regulates the relations of France with the Ottoman Empire. In this the precedence previously accorded to the representatives of France was renewed and new privileges given to the French consuls, merchants and traders. A special rate of duty was extended to every kind of merchandise and French protegés, as well as Frenchmen themselves, even when wearing Oriental dress, were granted free access to the States of the Sultan without payment of a tax. One effect of this general diplomatic intrigue was to give to Turkey the idea that its friendship was sought on account of its power, whereas as a matter of fact she had become weak and was liable to be overborne at any time by one power or the other. This influenced her to remain neutral during the war of the Austrian succession, and rendered her blind to the revelations of the French ambassador as to the encroachments of Russia. That government had spread its fortifications into every territory which had been declared neutral, by this means cutting off communication between the Turks and the Tartars of Southern Russia, as well as usurping a considerable territory. But all to no avail. The Ottoman preferred peace and paid little

attention to the steps that were being taken against his power.

Frequent references have been made to the relation of the European governments, especially France and Russia, to the Holy Places in Jerusalem. That question became at this time a very important one, and a brief survey of the situation will be in place. The possession of these places was disputed between the Latins, the Greeks and the Armenians. The Moslem law recognized no one of them as having exclusive rights, but held that each communion might enter and observe its ceremonies. To one, however, there was accorded a certain primacy, involved in the keeping of the keys, repairing the edifices, maintaining them at their own cost, lighting them, and having general care for them. This privilege was accorded primarily by the Porte to the French ambassador, according to the firman given in 1564:

"The keys of the doors of the said place (the grotto in which Jesus Christ was born) are in the hands of the Franks, and pass successively from one to the other of those among them who arrive at Jerusalem, and that, as well before as since the taking of that city by the Sultan Selim I, up to the present date, without having passed into other hands than theirs. It is they who open to those of the Mussulmans or of the Christians who dwell in, or who come to Jerusalem, and who desire to visit that place (the grotto). There is no record that they have ceased to possess the said keys, nor that any one has contested with them for their possession, and has dispossessed them of the keys. They are in constant and uninterrupted possession of them from the most remote times up to the day of the date of the present act. Consequently, the under-mentioned judge has confirmed the pos-

session of the keys of the said places in the hands of the Frank nation."

Later, in 1620, another firman has the following:

"The Franks, ancient exclusive possessors of the Great Church of Bethlehem and the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin, have, of their full accord, granted to each of the other Christian communions sanctuaries in the Superior Church; but the inferior portion, the place wherein Jesus Christ was born (may salvation rest with him!) is the sanctuary of the Frankish monks; no other nation has any right therein, and it is forbidden to each and every nation to usurp hereafter the said place. . . . We order that no individual be permitted, Armenian or other, to say mass in the place where Jesus Christ was born, a place situate underneath the Church of Bethlehem, no more than in the cupola, which is called the tomb of Jesus Christ; neither in the interior of the tomb of the Holy Virgin; nor finally in the sanctuaries which, from the old time, belonged to the Frankish monks."

In 1633 a still more explicit firman states:

. . . "To-day the Frankish monks came to produce the titles which are in their hands. We have examined them, and have recognized that they were ancient and authentic papers. They prove that all the places above mentioned, as well as the possession of the three doors of the grotto of Bethlehem, and the keys of those doors, belonged exclusively to the Frankish monks since the conquest of Jerusalem by the Calif Omar, and that at the epoch at which Selim I made himself master of those Holy Places, that a large number of localities have remained, as before, in the hands of the same Frankish monks. We order that the Franks have, as anciently, the possession and enjoyment of the grotto situate

at Bethlehem, and known under the name of the Crib of Jesus Christ, upon which the Greeks have seized, as it is said, to the detriment of the Frankish monks, by fraud, and by producing false titles; that they have the possession and enjoyment of the keys of the three doors, north, south and west, of the said grotto, and of two small gardens which belong to it; that they may have again, and in the said manner which they have had from all time, the enjoyment and possession of the *stone of unction*, situate in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the vaults of Calvary, the seven arches situate below Saint Mary, the two cupolas, great and small, which cover over the tomb of Jesus Christ; that they may have, besides the enjoyment and possession, whether at Jerusalem of the tomb of St. Mary or monastery called Deir-al-Amoud, with its belongings and dependencies, or whether in the village of Nazareth, of the churches and monasteries; in a word, of all the places of which, up to the present day, they have had uncontested possession; that henceforth neither the Greeks nor the Armenians, nor any other Christian nation, trouble or disquiet them, or cause them to be troubled or disquieted; . . . that always, in the said places, and chiefly in Calvary, the Frankish monks may exercise their worship at their will and as in the past; that they may place therein, as before, candles and torches, without any one hindering them; that in the exercise of their worship, the prefect of the Frankish monks have, as in the past, precedence over all the monks of other nations, provided that they pay the tribute desired by ancient custom (about £800)."

Notwithstanding these, the Greeks succeeded in forcibly taking away the power from the Latins within a year after this last firman, but forty years later were obliged to yield.

Then followed a series of intrigues in whicn the Moslem Governors of Damascus and Jerusalem were bribed by one party or the other to favor them. This resulted in 1676 in giving to the Greeks the keys, carpets and lamps of the sanctuaries on condition of paying annually the rent of 1000 piasters for the income of the mosque of Sultan Ahmet in Constantinople. In 1690, however, this judgment was reversed, and in 1718, in the treaty of Belgrade, the only stipulation by Russia was that the Russians should have the right of making pilgrimages to Palestine without molestation or payment of ransom. The capitulations of 1740 solemnly confirmed the rights of France, and peace seemed established. But again, 17 years later, some Greek pilgrims pillaged the Catholic monastry at Jaffa, assailed the monks and the Catholics in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, broke the lamps and scattered the ornaments; and, then having purchased at a heavy price, various affidavits, proclaimed to the Turkish Government the interruption of their worship by the Latins. They found means of securing the favor of the Grand Vizier, and a Hatti Sherif followed, which drove the Latins from the Church of the Virgin, and from that at Bethlehem, and placed under the special care and protection of the Greeks the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and several other sanctuaries.

Russia's next move was to start a religious propaganda in the Greek provinces of Turkey. Peter III had sent zealous emissaries among them, one of whom, a Greek of Thessaly, an artillery officer in the Russian service, traversed the shores of the Adriatic, Thessaly and the Morea; another, a monk, went through Servia and Croatia. He said to the Sultan's subjects that neither Germany or Hungary could do anything for them; France was careless, Poland helpless; Russia alone cared for

them, and was willing to help them; she alone belonged to the orthodox church. Stirred by these harangues, the Christians of Albania, Servia and Montenegro arose, but too early for Russian movements, and the insurrection was of no avail. The emissary to the Morea found greater difficulty. A bishop promised to raise 100,000 Greeks at the approach of the Russians, but a mountain chief refused to be seduced by flattery or yield to the threats. He gloried in his chieftainship of a free people, and said to the Russian that he was still a slave; if Russia cared to come as an ally, he would take up arms on condition of the war being pushed until the Turks were driven out. A third emissary went among the Rumanian provinces, but the Moldo-Wallachians achieved nothing more by an insurrection than the pillaging of a few Turkish villages, and the only result of the three movements was to deprive the Christian merchants of their wealth, which was sent to Constantinople to insure their loyalty, and to raise a suspicion against all Christians on the part of the Porte. The intrigues of Russia, however, continued and there was over the whole empire a sense of uneasiness. The French ministers did their best to stir the Turks against Russia, but the ministry were either too weak or too lazy, and held off for a time. At last war was again declared, and the Empress Catherine despatched her fleet from the Baltic. The French ambassador called the Turks' attention to this and received in reply the expression:

"Tell us how ships can get from St. Petersburg to Constantinople?"

At the same time, 1769, Voltaire was trying to stir the spirit of Phil-Hellenism, in Germany and Russia. Already he urged the partition of Turkey and the restoration of the

Greeks to independence. Fleets were fitted out; England approved the project; the Morea arose, but there was no general plan. The Russians withdrew and the Morea was terribly devastated. Similar results followed renewed movements in the Danubian Principalities; but the Turkish fleet was defeated at Tchesmeh and the army on the Danube, and Russia appeared predominant. Then came the mediation of Austria, and England offered assistance, which, however, was refused by the Turks, partly under the influence of France, who was anxious to use the newly developing disturbances in America to help her in her opposition to England. There were leagues and counter-leagues from Austria and Russia, with bargains for Wallachia, Moldavia, Bosnia and Dalmatia, the Turkish Government developing its since famous principle of sowing discord among the European powers that thereby it might gain strength.

The next step of importance was the Congress of Bucharest, when the Czarina sent in her demands for freedom of navigation in the Black Sea, in the Archipelago for ships of war and merchant vessels, the right of protection of the Greeks in the Ottoman Empire, and various other things, all of which, however, were indignantly rejected by the Turks, who went to war and gained marked success. This, however, was followed by the treaty of Kainardji, in 1774, when Russia received the protectorate over the Danubian Provinces, over the Christians of Turkey, and was henceforth to be the "oracle of the diplomatic negotiations pursued by the Porte; the arbiter of peace or war, the soul of the most important affairs of the empire." French influence received a mortal blow in gaining a rival in the protectorate of the Christians, who by having advantage of position, race and origin, could

be no longer baffled. England, too, had been made a tool of and her influence was at a low ebb.

The Russians followed up their advantage by intriguing anew in the Danubian Provinces, bu came again in contact with Austria, whom the French king sought to stir up to extend her territory in proportion as Russia extended hers. Very little, however, was gained and Russia secured the sovereignty of the Crimea, fresh rights over the Black Sea, and seemed in the way to accomplish the project of a new Eastern Empire, which had already been set forth by Catherine. England meanwhile had her hands busy with America and paid little attention to Eastern affairs until her Western task was finished, when she again entered the lists, endeavoring to drive Turkey to war with Russia. In this she succeeded and again came talk of dismemberment. Russia's advance along the Danube compelled England to act more positively in aid of Turkey, when the French Revolution broke out and turned every one's attention, except that of Russia, away from Turkey. Then came the treaty of Jassy, in 1792, when the Danubian Principalities ceased to be recognized as Turkish Provinces.

The first result of the French Revolution was the war of the allied monarchs to restore the house of Bourbon, and in this as hitherto entered the question of Turkey. England as well as the rest sought to induce the Porte to break with France, and to this end endeavored to secure some concessions from Russia. The Porte, however, preserved its neutrality and continued to extend its protection to French commercial interests. Its increasing weakness, however, led Europe to believe that the empire was fast approaching dissolution. This also was the opinion of France, and Napoleon,

looking forward to taking a part in dismemberment, planned for the leading part to belong to himself. The French ambassador at Constantinople advised the renunciation of the alliance with the Porte and the appropriation of the provinces escaping from its rule. Accordingly, with this came the invasion of Egypt and the sudden disillusion on the part of the Turks of the value of the French alliance. England, Russia and Austria profited by this to arouse French opposition, and at last war was declared, the result of which was the ruin of French influence in the Levant and an alliance between the Porte and Russia, the admission of the Russian fleet into the Dardanelles and the treaty of Constantinople, by which the two powers mutually guaranteed each other's possessions, including Egypt. To this Great Britain acceded.

In the peace of Amiens England desired to bind the Porte as a contracting party, but Napoleon persisted in a separate peace with Turkey, and sought to gain favor by evacuating Egypt and restoring the original situation. On the other hand, the capitulations of 1740 were renewed with new articles, recognizing the incontestable right of French vessels in the Black Sea. Napoleon's ambition for Eastern conquest continued, and it was not long before the peace of Amiens was broken through the re-establishment of French relations with Turkey and the refusal of England to give up Malta and of Russia to give up the Ionian Islands, where they had placed a garrison. Then followed various concessions and accessions accompanied by considerable dread on the part of the Turks of the new French power, until the battle of Austerlitz made him appear a most desirable ally.

Meanwhile the Turkish Government had so thoroughly left Servia to the brigands and the Janissaries that in despair

they resolved to strike for independence, and called for the protection and support of Russia. Similarly Rumania thought to lean upon France for its independence, and the general result was a rupture of the peace and the occupation by Russia of Wallachia and Moldavia. Napoleon sent aid to the Porte and urged the fortification of the Straits. Then the English ambassador made strong demands, calling for the expulsion of the French ambassador, the concession of the Danubian Provinces to Russia, the giving up of the Turkish fleet to England, as well as of the forts and batteries of the Dardanelles, and threatened an expedition against Constantinople. Already the Russian fleet was at the island of Tenedos, when it was joined by the British admiral, who, taking advantage of a favorable wind and a feast of Bairam, forced the passage of the Dardanelles, burned the Turkish fleet near Gallipoli and anchored off the Princes' Islands.

Sharp conditions were sent demanding the dismissal of the French ambassador, the renewal of alliance between England and Russia, free passage of the straits and the surrender of the Turkish navy. The Frenchman, however, did not lose courage. He pointed out that the wind was no longer favorable and that it would not be difficult to defend the city. Encouraging messages came from Napoleon, and meanwhile the English ambassador, thinking himself secure, occupied himself with negotiations instead of taking action. The result was that, notwithstanding summons after summons from the fleet, the Turkish defense was complete and the English ships had to withdraw through the Dardanelles. Then came the sudden deposition of Sultan Selim by a revolution of the Yamaks, which disgusted Napoleon and undoubtedly influenced him in arranging the peace of Tilsit,

which was concluded, to the complete abandonment of Turkey by France. It was stipulated that hostilities should cease between Turkey and Russia, after an armistice concluded in the presence of a French commissioner; but a secret article made still more apparent the policy of France, in which it was declared that in case the mediation of France was not accepted she would make common cause with Russia against the Ottoman Porte, withdraw all the Turkish provinces, in Europe, from its rule, with the exception of Constantinople and province of Rumelia. From correspondence it is gathered that the partition would have been as follows: France to have Bosnia, Albania, Epirus, all Greece, Thessaly and Macedonia; Austria to have Servia; Russia to have Wallachia, Moldavia, Bulgaria and Thrace, as far as the Maritza. The French mediation was accepted, but definite arrangements could not be secured. English intrigues interrupted, but before any definite result could be achieved another Sultan had been deposed and Mahmud II came to the throne.

CHAPTER XII.

MAHMUD II.

A Disintegrating Empire—An Energetic Sultan—Napoleon and Alexander—Lord Stratford de Redcliffe—Greek War for Independence—Russia's Perfidy—Destruction of the Janissaries—Reforms Attempted—Mehemet Ali of Egypt—Accession of Abd-ul-Medjid.

THE general situation at the commencement of the reign of Mahmud II is thus clearly described by Sir Stratford Canning:

"The state of Turkey itself was anything but satisfactory in view of those powers who did not wish the Porte to become the prey either of Russia or of France. Both morally and materially the empire was bordering on decrepitude. The old political system of Turkey had worn itself out. The population was not yet prepared for the new order of things. A depreciated currency, a disordered revenue, a mutinous militia, dilapidated fortresses, a decreasing population, a stagnant industry, and general misrule, were the monuments which time had left of Ottoman domination in the second capital of the Roman Empire, and throughout those extensive regions which had been the successive seats of civilization, ever varying, generally advancing, from the earliest periods of social settlement and historical tradition. A continual and often a sanguinary antagonism of creeds, of races, of districts and

authorities within the frontier, and frequent wars of little glory and much loss with the neighboring powers, had formed of late the normal condition of the Porte's dominions.

"Russia, France, Austria, and even Persia, had by turns contracted the area and drained the resources of the empire. From the corrupt monotony of his seraglio, the Sultan had to send forth his firmans, his emissaries, his bands of irregular soldiery, or, it might be, his naval armaments, against an invading enemy, a rebellious chief, or an armed insurrection. Several great families, several unsubdued tribes, and here and there an overpowerful pasha, had succeeded in braving and circumscribing the imperial authority. The Mamelukes still prevailed in Egypt. The most important part of Syria was under the sway of a Christian Emir. Ali Pasha of Janina exercised royal power in the provinces bordering on Greece, and Greece itself, excited by Russia, was preparing to burst the fetters which had so long bound her to the Ottoman throne. Servia, Montenegro, and the Danubian Principalities were all more or less in league with Russia, and the Porte, at war with that formidable power, had everything to apprehend from the Russian forces concentrated upon her northern frontier. The Sultan's fleet was manned with Christian Greeks from the island population of the Archipelago ; the Barbary Powers were scarcely even in nominal dependence on the Porte ; and a sect of Mohammedans, called the Wahhabis, and having a kind of analogy with our Puritans, had hoisted a separate standard of religious belief in parts of Egypt and Arabia."

Mahmud II was unquestionably the greatest monarch of the Osmanli dynasty from Suleiman the Magnificent, 1566, to his enthronement. He escaped assassination at the dethrone-

ment of Mustapha IV by concealment in an old oven, and was called from dust and ashes to be girded with the sword of Osman. He was then, by the death of Selim III and Mustapha IV, the only heir of the throne. The Janissaries killed his faithful and able grand vizier, who was bent upon reforming them, but Mahmud was sacred even to them. He then resolved upon their destruction, for sixteen years was slowly working towards it, and then the stroke fell upon them like a thunderbolt, and they were no more.

He saw his empire going to ruin in every possible direction, and enemies multiplying on every hand.

Napoleon and Alexander studied many schemes of dividing up the Turkish Empire, but in every scheme Russia was to have Constantinople and the Dardanelles, and to this France would never agree, and the whole scheme of division fell through. In a few years Moscow was in flames to drive out Napoleon, and France had twice been occupied by foreign armies, while Constantinople remained intact.

Mahmud had plans of reform in all departments of government, and he, first of all the Sultans of his dynasty, saw not merely the political necessity of friendly relations with the Christian nations, but the advantage to his own government of modeling his army and navy after them. In 1809 he made a treaty with England to the disgust of the other powers. In 1810 he had many bloody battles with the Russians on the Danube, in which he lost Silistria and other valuable positions. But the plans of Napoleon troubled Russia, and she was glad to make peace with Turkey and withdraw her forces for other uses, giving up Silistria and other places.

By the treaty of Bucharest, 1812, Moldavia and Wallachia were given back to the Sultan. Servia, also, after a most de-

voted struggle for freedom, was coldly surrendered to the Turks, who occupied the fortresses and renewed their tyranny. A Servian historian accuses Russia of this base abandonment for the purpose of finding, at some future time, an occasion for intervention.

In the treaty of Bucharest, Sir Stratford Canning (quoted above), a young man of twenty-three, first displayed that remarkable insight and skill which made him during his long career the greatest diplomat England has produced. France was earnestly seeking an alliance with Turkey. Russia was disposed to peace because she had 22,000 of her choicest troops on the Danube, which a favorable peace would enable her to withdraw. Canning showed the Turks clearly the dangers they would incur by mingling in the contests of France and Russia. All parties acknowledged the consummate skill with which he cleared away objections and effected a treaty useful to Turkey, Russia and England.

The embarrassment of the Sultan increased on every side, and his reign became a struggle for existence rather than for reform. The rebellious Janissaries were always a thorn in his side, but in Egypt the Mamelukes were far worse than the Janissaries. The Wahabites had raised a powerful insurrection in Arabia and would dominate the sacred cities. Greece was also threatening rebellion, but, worst of all, England, France, Austria and Russia were pressing upon him conflicting claims which might result in war. The Ulema, the whole power of the Mosques, were against all reforms, all innovations, and they backed up the Janissaries in their rebellions. He faced all his enemies with unflinching resolution. He committed to Mehemet Ali of Egypt the work of subduing the Mamelukes and Wahabites. He performed his work with an

energy and success that amazed the world. The Sultan soon understood that if two enemies had been destroyed, one had come forward more powerful and dangerous than the two, one who was destined to wreck the empire but for the intervention of Europe.

It was about this time that the famous *hetæria* arose, an association destined to have great influence among the Greeks, and to play an important part in Greek independence. The Greeks, like most of the Christians under Turkish rule, accepted that authority so long as it did not affect their religion and general customs. Certain ones, however, proved recalcitrant. Some mountaineers took refuge in the rough country back from the coast of the Archipelago, and rivaled the bandits of Macedonia, Servia and Sicily. Others turning to commerce, sought to get the better of their Moslem rulers by shrewdness of intellect. They profited by the struggle in the Mediterranean between France and England, and under cover of the Turkish flag acquired great commercial strength, owning, in 1815, 600 vessels. They sent their children abroad, and established schools everywhere on the Islands of the Archipelago, in Asia Minor and even in Constantinople. A few of these men joined in a company called the *hetæria*, or association, founded for the purpose of propagating religious instruction and the publication of religious books. They claimed to have the support of the Prime Minister of Russia, and secured the alliance of the chief brigands of the Pindus, the head men of the interior Greek communities, the merchants of the Archipelago and the heads of the Mainotes of the Morea who had proved impervious to Russian advances. Their one object was the independence of Greece, and they

seized the opportunity offered by the revolt of the famous Ali Pasha of Janina to make a strike for that independence.

Ali Pasha, who had long had more or less intimate relations with these Greeks, summoned them to his aid and proclaimed himself their protector. They hesitated, but influenced by the report that the Turkish Government had decided upon the extermination of the Christians, joined hands with the Albanians, and Marco Bozzaris became the ally of the "Lion of Janina." In 1826 came the outrages at Patras and Seres, and soon there was insurrection from the Danube to the Gulf of Corinth. Russia again failed the very people who relied upon her, the Sultan's Government decreed the disarmament and massacre of the Greeks, hung the Patriarch at the door of his palace in Constantinople, and on Easter Day three archbishops, and eighty bishops, exarchs and archimandrites shared his fate. Through Thrace, Macedonia and Thessaly the massacre spread, peaceable and defenseless Greeks were pillaged or slain, churches were destroyed, and women and children were dragged into slavery. In Greece, however, and in Albania, Ali Pasha and Ypsilanti held the Turks in check, captured several places, and retorted upon the Moslems the terrors of massacre. Then came treason, and Ali Pasha fell, but Greece refused to yield. The Turks in fury avenged themselves on Scio, which had taken no part in the insurrection, and out of 100,000 inhabitants scarcely 900 were left. It was scarcely surprising that reprisals followed such a massacre, but the utmost done by them was little in comparison with the atrocities which the Christians of the whole empire had endured.

The insurrection went on. Appeals were made to the Christian nations of Europe, and delegates sent to a Congress

which met at Verona. The great purpose of that Congress being, however, to stifle the insurrections of Italy and Spain, it could hardly be expected to help Greece. They even invited the Sultan to membership in the Congress. Everywhere, however, there was popular enthusiasm. In France, England, and Germany, societies of Phil-hellenes were formed, and America lifted her voice in support of this effort for freedom. Many arms and munitions were sent to the aid of the Greeks, and many men came to share their fortunes, Lord Byron, Colonel Fabvier, Count Rosa and others. The Greeks, however, could not agree among themselves, and internal dissensions, including even war, prevented their securing the results of their victories. The Turks profited by their misfortunes, and weakened the power of the Greeks till Missolonghi fell and Athens and Nauplia alone remained. The Greeks were almost disheartened, and turned to England for help. What Sir Stratford Canning felt is evident from the following extract from his Memoirs.

"In the port of Ipsera we gathered cruel evidence of what war is when kindled by the antipathies of race and creed. It was little more than dawn when we anchored before the town. The houses had every appearance of undisturbed repose, and the early hour sufficed to account for the want of movement in the streets. The admiral's steward went ashore with the full expectation of finding a market well stocked with all the objects he required. Imagine his surprise when the truth broke upon him. A death-silence indoors as well as without, not a voice, not a footstep, not an inhabitant; the town was a mere shell, plausible to the eye, but utterly void of life. Later in the day a party of us landed with our guns and strayed among the vineyards in search of game. At

one spot near the coast we came upon a piteous sight, the bones of many who had preferred a voluntary death to captivity, when their homes became the prey of a Turkish squadron. Mothers in horror and despair had slaughtered their children on the cliff, and thrown themselves over on their bodies which had already found a resting-place below. Scarcely less horrible than this scene of death was the apparition of two survivors from the interior of the island. Worn nearly to skeletons by fear and anguish and famine, the very types of hopeless misery, with haggard eyes and loathsome beards, and tattered rags by way of clothing, they told without language the history of their sufferings. Heavens! how I longed to be the instrument of repairing such calamities by carrying my mission of peace and deliverance to a successful issue!"

He, however, could not do much, as Russia refused to join heartily. Mahmud persisted in forcing subjugation. Athens fell and at last a sort of agreement was reached by which the Greeks gained somewhat. Then came the battle of Navarino, when the Allied fleets under the lead of the British Admiral repelled an attack by the Turks which resulted in the destruction of the Turkish fleet. The responsibility perhaps rested with the turbulent Ibrahim Pasha, but the inevitable result was war with Russia which ended in the Treaty of Adrianople, by which the independence of Greece was assured, although the completely organized kingdom was not established for a few years. During the negotiations between the five powers, which resulted in the coronation of King Otho, Russian influence was predominant, but had to submit to much of hostility from the people, who could not forget the way in which they had been now encouraged, then left in the lurch

by the Monarch of the North. In the meantime the Sultan was training under European drill-masters a body of 14,000 artillery for the destruction of the Janissaries. When his arrangements were complete and he felt he could trust the commander of the artillery, "Black Hell," he obtained from the Grand Council of State an order sanctioned by a fetva of the Sheik-ul-Islam, requiring each company of the Janissaries to furnish so many of their number to the artillery. It was rejected with scorn. They turned their soup kettles upside down and beat upon them in sign of rebellion. The palace gates were shut and they could not get at the Sultan. The batteries were ready in barges on the Asiatic side and soon to the consternation of the Janissaries every street leading from the barracks was swept by shot and shell as soon as they appeared. They made desperate rallies, but grape cut them down. The remnant retired to their barracks to defend themselves to the last. "Black Hell" had no intention to give them any chance to fight. He shelled the barracks till he set them on fire and not a man escaped. The joy of the people was unbounded. The Janissaries had become a terror to Moslems as well as Christians. Their robberies and murders knew no law. The smaller bodies scattered through the cities were hunted down like wild beasts, the corps abolished and all its standards and emblems destroyed.

Mahmud was now, 1826, free to institute reforms. He resolved to have a cabinet of prominent ministers, each of whom should be responsible for his department, and to model his government after that of England. He felt keenly the loss of Greece and the destruction of his fleet, but did not abate one jot of his eagerness for reform. He had

40,000 soldiers under the discipline of the young Moltke, afterwards so distinguished in German history. Russia caring little for Greece, but never losing sight of Constantinople, saw her opportunity, came down upon him with demands that stirred his wrath, but he was powerless and she forced upon him the treaty of Akkerman with many stipulations injurious to Turkey, such as increased privileges for the Danubian Principalities and free passage of the straits.

After the destruction of the Janissaries and of the Turkish fleet and the loss of Greece, Russia regarded Turkey as an easy prey, and the next step by the Czar was to send into Bulgaria in 1828 an army which he believed would march triumphantly across the Balkans, through Eastern Rumelia to Constantinople. But the Turks fought with such enthusiasm that the campaign of 1828 was a failure.

In 1829 Diebitsch crossed the Balkan with some hard fighting and came down upon Adrianople, which he took with ease. A most destructive cholera or plague was decimating his army, and if the Turks had only maintained their positions two weeks longer Diebitsch would have had no force left. He played a high game of bluff, declared he had 50,000 men and that he would march immediately upon the city. The ambassadors all joined in beseeching the Sultan to save his capital, which he did by an indemnity of £5,000,000. When he found out the deception, and that the Russian army was chiefly beneath the soil, his chagrin was so bitter that he shut himself up, and for a whole week his officers could not see him. The result was the Treaty of Adrianople, which added to the previous agreements the demand for a heavy war indemnity to Russia.

The indemnity, which was manfully paid, swept off the

gold and silver of the empire, and Mahmud substituted a base coin of the same numerical value, a kind of "fiat money" which was thought at first to be a grand invention, but which played the mischief with commerce and with the finances generally.

Undaunted by all these reverses he rebuilt his navy, employing one American, Mr. Eckford, and his foreman, Mr. Rhodes, who produced some of the most noble vessels of war then afloat.

He introduced reforms in the civil administration which were welcomed by the people; the rajahs were treated with a justice and consideration that was new to them. Many Armenians were introduced into offices never before given to rajahs. One Armenian was at the head of the mint, another was the Sultan's architect and another chief of his powder works and most of the construction of arms, and another was collector of the port. The latter was a man of remarkable capacity, a friend of learning and a good friend of the first American missionaries. Could Mahmud have had a decade of peace after the destruction of the Janissaries and the peace with Greece, with his iron will and wonderful energy he might have brought up the old empire into some degree of health and vigor. England had begun to favor his reforms; France was friendly; but Russia and Austria were bent upon his ruin.

Another danger threatened the Sultan. Among the men sent to join the Turkish contingent in Egypt in their contest with the French in 1801 was a young Albanian named Mehemet Ali. During the two years that followed he gained increasing influence among the Albanians and when soon there came a conflict between them and the Turks he took the

position of leader, and at last succeeded in securing a firman of investiture as Pasha of Egypt. He was ambitious and successful, advancing his arms until he secured the west coast of Arabia, and although acknowledging the Sultan as Suzerain became, with his son Ibrahim, a cause of much anxiety. It was Ibrahim who brought on the battle of Navarino, and once feeling his power he did not hesitate to use it, and the next step was to claim independence. The Egyptian forces conquered Syria, Mahmud's forces were defeated at Konieh and there seemed nothing to prevent his march to Constantinople. Mahmud sought in vain the intervention of England. He had next to turn to his great enemy, Russia, who immediately landed an army on the Asiatic shore of the Bosporus. England bit her lips too late. Russia had eagerly seized the opportunity which England had slighted.

Thus Ibrahim's course was stopped and he had to turn back. The treaty of Hunkiar Iskelessi, July 8, 1833, was an offensive and defensive alliance between Turkey and Russia, which closed the Dardanelles to other powers and gave the right of intervening against the interior and exterior enemies of the Porte. Some places of importance were yielded to Mehemet Ali, who became an increasingly important factor even in European politics. He had his eye on Bagdad and an arrangement by which he should at least be Grand Vizier, perhaps Sultan.

With all these difficulties, Mahmud, unsubdued, continued his reforms, and began to lean more upon England as opposed to Russia. He had again a fleet and a disciplined army when again the great Viceroy of Egypt rebelled. Mahmud was dying of consumption. One who saw him two weeks before his death said that he had the looks of a caged eagle,

his spirit unsubdued. He sent his fleet against Alexandria, and his army against Ibrahim. The fleet was basely betrayed into the hands of Mehemet Ali, and the army was badly beaten at Nezib, near the Euphrates. Mahmud died before the terrible news reached the capital.

Abd-ul-Medjid was girded with the sword of Osman, July, 1839. A convention between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia and Turkey settled the affairs of Egypt and the Porte; in 1840 Mehemet Ali became the hereditary viceroy, and was compelled to give up all the places he had won. Indeed, the English navy had driven him out of all the ports on the Syrian coast. He was to pay one-fourth of his revenue to the Porte and acknowledge the suzerainty of the Sultan.

The young Sultan was inducted into his high office with unexampled splendor. He had fully imbibed from his father the spirit of reform, and a set of young men of marked ability had been educated in England and France to co-operate with him. He had nothing of the lion-like character of his father, but he had what his father never had, able and faithful coadjutors. Fuad, Aali, Midhat, Ahmed Vefyk Pashas did honor to his reign, and in part to his successors. His commander-in-chief, Omar Pasha, was a man of great military skill and genius, and of sound judgment. He kept European Turkey quiet in spite of Russian revolutionists. But from 1842 to 1856 the controlling power was unquestionably the English Ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning, better known as Lord Stratford De Redcliffe.

Russia was having her own way, and the English Ambassador, Ponsonby, was merely a nobleman of vast wealth. He could make a splendid show. He had the finest "turn out" of any ambassador; beyond that he had nothing. Canning

had been three times at the Ottoman court, and he knew the ropes when he came in 1842. The Czar hated and feared him, and he feared if he did not hate the Czar. There were now to be fourteen years of the most indefatigable labor to regenerate the Turkish Empire, and equal effort on the Russian side to prevent and upset all Canning's plans. But the Czar had no man of such mighty personality to match him. He recalled De Boutineff and sent Litoff.

Lord Stratford interested himself in everything that pertained to the general welfare of the empire, especially in the betterment of the situation of the Christians. He was greatly pleased with the promulgation of the Hatti Sherif of Gulhané (described in the chapter on the condition of the Christians), and was a cordial friend to the missionaries. He also was interested in archæology. He obtained for young Layard (Sir Austen Henry Layard) a firman for those researches in Nineveh which gave him the name of Nineveh Layard. This was done at Canning's personal expense. He obtained from the Sultan the personal gift of the frieze of the Mausoleum of Artemisia, at Budrum, and presented the seventeen slabs, weighing twenty tons, to the British Museum. One of his great diplomatic triumphs was obtained against the united power of Austria and Russia, when the Hungarian Revolution failed, and Kossuth and his three hundred companions fled to Turkey. Every house, native and foreign, was opened to them. Russia and Austria demanded that they be surrendered. It was an anxious time until the Sultan's reply came, that he would sooner surrender his throne than give up any one who had fled to him for shelter. Both embassies declared this equivalent to a declaration of war, pulled down their flags, covered with black the national signs and monograms on the

ambassadorial buildings, and departed in a rout of warlike pomp. England and France assured the Sultan of their support, and the proud ambassadors had to come back and be laughed at. Russia and Austria would not meet England, France and Turkey in a new war for the pleasure and privilege of housing those few refugees.

The returned ambassadors tried every means to persecute the brave men, but Canning met them at every point and baffled them. It is not strange that Russian newspapers lavished ink upon Sir Stratford Canning, or that they regarded him as the Arch Fiend of diplomacy.

CHAPTER XIII.

Reforms and Progress.

Reign of Abd-ul-Medjid—Influence of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe—English Policy in Turkey—Hatti Sherif of Gulhané—A Remarkable Document—Equal Rights for all Subjects of the Sultan—Land Tax and Judicial Reform—General Situation of the Country—Application of the Reforms.

ABD-UL-MEDJID was a man of entirely different type from his father. He had little of that clear foresight and determined will which made Mahmud throw aside turban and kaftan, and assume the European dress, retaining only the fez as the distinguishing mark of his Turkish race; study a French book of tactics and learn to ride his horse like an English dragoon instead of a Tartar courier. He had, however, what Mahmud lacked, able assistants. Under the general instruction of Mahmud there had grown up some young men who realized as he did the absolute necessity of change in the conduct of the Turkish Government, if it was to hope for strength in comparison with the European forces, and Abd-ul-Medjid had the judgment and tact to call them into his councils. He was fortunate, too, in having through a considerable part of his reign, the presence and counsel of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and the famous Englishman threw himself heart and soul into the effort to establish the Turkish Empire upon such a basis of reform as should make it an

efficient ally of Western Europe in its effort to resist the aggressions of the tremendous power of Russia, which was not only menacing more and more the peace of Europe, but threatening to spread over it the pall of its own barbarism.

Lord Stratford recognized very clearly the nature of the men he had to deal with and the problem which faced him. In a private letter he wrote: "Very false notions are entertained in England of the Turkish nation. You know much better than I do the mighty resources and native wealth which this enormous empire possesses. I am myself a daily witness of the personal qualities of the inhabitants, qualities which if properly directed are capable of sustaining them against a world of enemies. But the government is radically bad, and its members, who are all alive to its defects, have neither the wisdom nor the courage to reform it. The few who have courage equal to the task know not how to reconcile reformation with the prejudices of the people. And without this, nothing can be effected." Therefore he set himself, with all his skill and energy, to the work of reconciling the needed reformation with the prejudices of the people. The diplomatic course of England has been singularly ill-advised, even though perfectly natural. Realizing the nature of the terrible oppression of the Turkish Government, especially as manifested in the condition of the Greeks, but blind to the scarcely, if any, less terrible oppression of the Russian Government, as manifested in those interior provinces, which were later to be photographed to the world by Eugene Schuyler, Macdonald and George Kennan, she and France joined hands with Russia in such a way as to give Russian influence an enormous prestige. The result was that the genuine enthusiasm for reform which filled Mahmud's mind was chilled, and more

than that, he was discredited among his own people. Another blunder was the yielding to French influence in permitting the power of Mehemet Ali to increase in Egypt, so that he could overrun Syria and Asia Minor. Against both of them Lord Stratford had protested; not because he lacked sympathy for the Greeks, but because he saw more clearly than others that to weaken Mahmud was to weaken the only available means of checking that Russian aggression and tyranny which threatened to crush out all idea of development. Turkish tyranny was bad, but Russian tyranny was worse in his eyes; because in the Sultan he saw indications of a real sympathy with the best life of the nation, while in the Czar he found nothing but a fierce, unalterable determination to secure personal aggrandizement at whatever cost to anybody else. In accordance with this he outlined the foundation of his policy as early as 1832, in a despatch to Lord Palmerston, as follows:

"The great question to be resolved is this: How far is it possible to introduce into the present system of administration those improvements without which the army and finances of the country must be equally inefficient? * * * More than five years have elapsed since the Janissaries were destroyed, and, although some regulations of a better kind have been adopted, and the Sultan's policy is in general of a milder and more protecting character, no beneficial results, except that of a diminished animosity between Turks and Christians, are yet visible. The regular army is not more numerous now, and scarcely better disciplined, than it was before the war with Russia. The financial embarrassments increase, and commerce is still depressed by a pernicious system of monopoly. * * * I think the time is near at hand,

or perhaps already come, when it is necessary that a decided line of policy should be adopted and steadily pursued with respect to this country. The Turkish Empire is evidently hastening to its dissolution, and an approach to the civilization of Christendom affords the only chance of keeping it together for any length of time. That chance is a very precarious one at best, and should it unfortunately not be realized, the dismemberment which would ensue could hardly fail of disturbing the peace of Europe through a long series of years."

Here we have the germ of Lord Stratford's policy, and just in proportion as that policy was carried out by the Turkish Government was there peace in Europe and prosperity in the Turkish Empire. It is to the neglect of that policy by Abd-ul-Aziz, and its reversal by Abd-ul-Hamid, combined with the inertness of Lord Stratford's successors in the English Embassy at Constantinople, and the determined hostility of Russia, that have been due the terrible events of the past two years. It was most unfortunate that for ten years, 1832–1841, Lord Stratford had no voice in Turkish matters. During that period came the treaty of Hunkiar Iskellessi, when the Russian fleet, anchored in the Bosporus, made the Sultan a vassal of the Czar, and the great advance of Mehemet Ali, all resulting in the discouragement of the most courageous and progressive Sultan Turkey has ever had, and a situation at his death which would have appalled an ordinary man.

Abd-ul-Medjid's first step was one which presaged good. Scarcely had he ascended his throne when he promulgated the Hatti Sherif of Gulhané. In some respects this is one of the most remarkable documents in history. In a sense it is surpassed by the more famous Hatti Humayoun issued by the same Sultan some years later, but that was after he

had been under Lord Stratford's influence, and was in the flush of victory in the Crimean War. This was at a time when discouragement was on every side, and all European ideas were looked upon as thoroughly anti-Islam. In view of its historical value, we give the text in full.

HATTI SHERIF OF GULHANÉ.

"All the world knows that, in the first days of the Ottoman monarchy, the glorious precepts of the Koran and the laws of the empire were always honored.

"The empire in consequence increased in strength and greatness, and all its subjects, without exception, had risen in the highest degree to ease and prosperity. In the last one hundred and fifty years a succession of accidents and divers causes have arisen which have brought about a disregard for the sacred code of laws and the regulations flowing therefrom, and the former strength and prosperity have changed into weakness and poverty; an empire in fact loses all its stability so soon as it ceases to observe its laws.

"These considerations are ever present to our mind, and ever since the day of our advent to the throne the thought of the public weal, of the improvement of the state of the provinces, and of relief to the (subject) peoples, has not ceased to engage it. If, therefore, the geographical position of the Ottoman provinces, the fertility of the soil, the aptitude and intelligence of the inhabitants, are considered, the conviction will remain that by striving to find efficacious means, the result, which by the help of God we hope to attain, can be obtained within a few years. Full of confidence, therefore, in the help of the Most High, and certain of the support of our Prophet, we deem it right to try by new institutions to give to the provinces composing the Ottoman Empire the benefit of a good administration.

"These institutions must be principally carried out under three heads, which are:

"1. The guaranteeing and insuring to our subjects perfect security for life, honor, and fortune.

"2. A regular system of assessing and levying taxes.

"3. An equally regular system for the levying of troops and the duration of their service.

"And, in fact, are not life and honor the most precious gifts to mankind?

What man, however much his character may be against violence, can prevent himself from having recourse to it, and thereby injure the government and the country, if his life and honor are endangered? If, on the contrary, he enjoys in that respect perfect security, he will not depart from the ways of loyalty, and all his actions will contribute to the good of the government and of his brothers.

"If there is an absence of security as to one's fortune, everyone remains insensible to the voice of the Prince and the country; no one interests himself in the progress of public good, absorbed as he is in his own troubles. If, on the contrary, the citizen keeps possession in all confidence of all his goods, then, full of ardor in his affairs, which he seeks to enlarge in order to increase his comforts, he feels daily growing and doubling in his heart not only his love for the Prince and country, but also his devotion to his native land.

"These feelings become in him the source of the most praiseworthy actions.

"As to the regular and fixed assessment of the taxes, it is very important that it be regulated; for the state which is forced to incur many expenses for the defense of its territory cannot obtain the money necessary for its armies and other services except by means of contributions levied on its subjects. Although, thanks be to God, our empire has for some time past been delivered from the scourge of monopolies, falsely considered in times of war as a source of revenue, a fatal custom still exists, although it can only have disastrous consequences; it is that of venal cessions, known under the name of 'Iltizam.'

"Under that name the civil and financial administration of a locality is delivered over to the passions of a single man; that is to say, sometimes to the iron grasp of the most violent and avaricious passions; for if that contractor is not a good man, he will only look to his own advantage.

"It is therefore necessary that henceforth each member of Ottoman society should be taxed for a quota of a fixed tax according to his fortune and means, and that it should be impossible that anything more could be exacted from him. It is also necessary that special laws should fix and limit the expenses of our land and sea forces.

"Although, as we have said, the defense of the country is an important matter, and it is the duty of all the inhabitants to furnish soldiers for that object, it has become necessary to establish laws to regulate the con-

tingent to be furnished by each locality according to the necessity of the time, and to reduce the term of military service to four or five years. For it is at the same time doing an injustice and giving a mortal blow to agriculture and to industry to take, without consideration to the respective population of the localities, in the one more, in the other less, men than they can furnish; it is also reducing the soldiers to despair and contributing to the depopulation of the country by keeping them all their lives in the service.

"In short, without the several laws, the necessity for which has just been described, there can be neither strength, nor riches, nor happiness, nor tranquillity for the empire; it must, on the contrary, look for them in the existence of these new laws.

"From henceforth, therefore, the cause of every accused person shall be publicly judged, as the divine law requires, after inquiry and examination, and so long as a regular judgment shall not have been pronounced, no one can secretly or publicly put another to death by poison or in any other manner.

"No one shall be allowed to attach the honor of any other person whatever.

"Each one shall possess his property of every kind, and shall dispose of it in all freedom, without let or hindrance from any person whatever; thus, for example, the innocent heirs of a criminal shall not be deprived of their legal rights, and the property of the criminal shall not be confiscated. These imperial concessions shall extend to all our subjects, of whatever religion or sect they may be; they shall enjoy them without exception. We therefore grant perfect security to the inhabitants of our empire in their lives, their honor, and their fortunes, as they are secured to them by the sacred text of the law.

"As for the other points, as they must be settled with the assistance of enlightened opinions, our council of justice (increased by new members as shall be found necessary), to whom shall be joined, on certain days which we shall determine, our ministers and the notabilities of the empire, shall assemble in order to frame laws regulating the security of life and fortune and the assessment of the taxes. Each one in those assemblies shall freely express his ideas and give his advice.

"The laws regulating the military service shall be discussed by a military council holding its sittings at the palace of Seraskier. As soon as a

law shall be passed, in order to be forever valid, it shall be presented to us; we shall give it our approval, which we will write with our imperial sign-manual.

"As the object of these institutions is solely to revivify religion, government, the nation, and the empire, we engage not to do anything which is contrary thereto.

"In testimony of our promise we will, after having deposited these presents in the hall containing the glorious mantle of the prophet, in the presence of all the ulemas and the grandees of the empire, make oath thereto in the name of God, and shall afterwards cause the oath to be taken by the ulemas and the grandees of the empire.

"After that, those from among the ulemas and the grandees of the empire, or any other persons whatsoever, who shall infringe these institutions, shall undergo, without respect of rank, position, and influence, the punishment corresponding to his crime, after having been well authenticated.

"A penal code shall be compiled to that effect. As all the public servants of the empire receive a suitable salary, and as the salaries of those whose duties have not up to the present time been sufficiently remunerated are to be fixed, a rigorous law shall be passed against the traffic of favoritism and bribery, which the Divine law reprobates, and which is one of the principal causes of the decay of the empire.

"The above dispositions being a thorough alliteration and renewal of ancient customs, this imperial rescript shall be published at Constantinople and in all places of our empire, and shall be officially communicated to all the ambassadors of the friendly powers resident at Constantinople, that they may be witnesses to the granting of these institutions, which, should it please God, shall last forever. Wherein may the Most High have us in His holy keeping. May those who shall commit an act contrary to the present regulations be the object of Divine malediction, and be deprived forever of every kind of (protection) happiness.

"Read at Gulhané, November 3, 1839."

Through the peculiar Oriental verbiage it will be seen that this famous charter (1) Guaranteed to all subjects of the empire, without distinction, their life, their honor and their fortune; (2) Re-established a uniform and regular mode of assessing and subsequently levying the taxes; (3) Regulated,

by legal powers, the levy of soldiers and the duration of military service; (4) Suppressed monopolies; (5) Ordered that the taxes should be levied in proportion to the fortune of each; (6) Promised laws that should fix the expenses of the land and sea forces with the contingent of each locality; (7) Ordered that every cause should be tried publicly according to the civil and religious laws; (8) that every subject should possess his property with all the rights of ownership, and might sell it; and finally, (9) that the heirs of a criminal should not be deprived of their claims to his estate.

Such reforms were far-reaching and it is scarcely surprising that their promulgation stirred a dangerous reaction, or that for a time the government was practically in the hands of the reactionary party, which aimed at a return to the system overturned by Mahmud, or at least to weaken the force of the privileges granted to the Christians as much as possible. In this they were assisted by the general conditions of the country, already referred to as disorganized, but more completely described by Lord Stratford's biographer as follows:

"The general state of the empire was such as might be expected after the late troubles and under the existing rulers. Disorder reigned in the provinces. The misgovernment of Wallachia offered an opportunity for Russian intrigues; Bulgaria had caught the fever of disquiet, Albania soon broke into revolt, and in 1843 Servia rose against her prince. The local pashas did as they pleased. At Scutari, three Christian peasants were executed without trial; at Trebizond, the pasha cut the throats of two criminals in the public street; the governor of Mosul rushed out one night, mad with drink, to murder at pleasure; two towns were razed to the ground by

the troops in Albania; the soldiers mutinied for their pay at Salonica, tried to kill their colonel, and then burnt the stores in a caravanserai, while the pasha looked on; unequal and cruel taxation was driving the people to despair; the ministers of the Porte used their official authority in favor of their private trading, and invited presents of hush-money from offending pashas. Fanaticism against Christians was increasing, and Pera was placarded with threats of burning the Frank quarter. 'There is no such thing as system in Turkey,' wrote the ambassador. 'Every man according to his means and opportunities gets what he can, commands what he dares, and submits when he must.' Financial embarrassment, public and individual, prevailed to an alarming extent. The only active trade was the traffic in lucrative posts in the public service; but salaries were in arrears; commerce languished; the currency was ruinously debased; forests and mines and other resources were neglected; communications were bad—no roads or mere tracks; good land on the coast within 50 miles of Constantinople was to be bought for two shillings an acre, while Russian grain was sold at a comfortable profit hard by. Ignorance and corruption prevailed in every department of the state; brutal violence and torture were employed in the law courts; Christian evidence was not accepted against Moslems; Christians were annoyed if they entered the Turkish quarters of the capital; constant cases occurred of fraud and outrage against them; yet in spite of these disabilities the rayahs were slowly advancing in wealth, education and independence, whilst the Turks were losing ground."

Into this condition of things Lord Stratford injected his own fierce zeal, determined to carry through his point if possible,

and, as is so often the case, his very indomitableness was the occasion for a large degree of success. One of his chief points was the carrying out of reforms with regard to the Christians, not because he wanted to help the Christians at the expense of the Moslems, for he appreciated the situation of the latter thoroughly, but because he recognized that the development of the empire rested more with the Christians than with the Turks, and also that that development could not be hoped for until there was political equality. Hence it was fully as much with a desire to help the Turks themselves as the Christians that he set himself to oppose the reign of fanaticism which threatened to swamp the best efforts of the Sultan. Among the various points which he carried were the abolition of religious executions and of the use of torture in trials. Several instances occurred of the former, one of an Armenian and another of a Greek, both of whom had accepted Mohammedanism and then sought to return to their Christian faith, which second apostasy the Moslem ferocity had visited with death. This he carried by his own personal influence with the Sultan. In other reforms he had the cordial support of the famous Reshid Pasha, one of the noblest men that Turkey had ever produced. Lord Stratford also carried in 1845 a long-contested point, the right to establish a Protestant Church at Jerusalem for the British and Prussian subjects, and in 1846 mediated in behalf of the Protestant Armenians, exposed both to the persecution of the Porte and the hostility of their former ecclesiastical leaders. A few years later came the imperial firman recognizing Protestants as a distinct civil community.

Aside from these the Sultan pressed forward in the general elevation of his empire. He sought to organize public

instruction, declared the Ottoman University an institution of the state and inaugurated the division of the general education into the primary, secondary and superior grades. The first of these had already existed in a measure, but in the most primitive form, being scarcely more than instruction in the reading of the Koran; the secondary and superior grades had to be created entirely. Then came the publication of an administrative code regulating the duties and obligations of officers of the government and the institution of mixed tribunals of commerce. The first trial was held at Constantinople, in 1846, the different legations nominating ten prominent merchants to fill in turn the office of judge, while the Porte in turn nominated ten noted Mussulmans. There was an earnest effort to reform the system of taxation, and a decree in 1850 ordered that the personal tax should be collected in each province by the recognized head men of the communities, and they were to forward the money thus received to their patriarchate, from which it was to be passed over into the imperial treasury. Thus the whole system of these laws was applied little by little to every province of the empire in succession. In some it met with reasonable success; in others it called out the bitterest opposition. Mehemet Ali, of Egypt, died in 1849, and was succeeded by Abbas Pasha, one of the worst princes that Egypt ever knew. Order came to him to apply the same system of reforms in Egypt. He was shrewd enough not to make positive refusal, but disputed over its details, and especially over the clause which took from him the right to pronounce sentence of death. At last, however, he yielded and the reforms were enforced. In 1851 another innovation was made. Commissioners were appointed to visit different provinces of the empire, examine carefully into

the condition of each, collect any complaints of the authorities or of the inhabitants and transmit them to the Sultan. Hitherto the government had scarcely allowed the right even of petition, and while this was carried out in no very effective way, and in not a few respects it seemed very weak, still the fact that commissions were sent at all marked a great advance in the conduct of the empire for the comfort and interest of the people. In the same year there was another step forward taken in education, and an academy of sciences and letters was established at Constantinople. In all this the moving spirit was Reshid Pasha. He made no attempt to secure absolute success at first, but steadily persevered in the course of reform wherever an opportunity offered.

CHAPTER XIV.

Treaties of Paris and Berlin.

Influence of Lord Stratford—The Holy Places—Crimean War—Treaty of Paris—Abd-ul-Aziz—Extravagance—Influx of Europeans—Provincial Government—Accession of Abd-ul-Hamid II—Russo-Turkish War—Treaty of San Stephano—Treaty of Berlin—Cyprus Convention.

THE success of Lord Stratford in establishing reforms in Turkey, and more than that in securing the cordial endorsement of the Sultan and of Reshid Pasha, occasioned great uneasiness in Russia. During the whole of Abd-ul-Medjid's reign there had been continuous intrigue, especially in the Danubian Provinces and in Servia. This latter had been practically independent since 1830, but its independence was by no means a peaceable one. Its prince, the founder of the Obrenowitch line, was a tyrant who took advantage of every opportunity to fill his own private purse. There were risings of the people followed by firmans from Constantinople, which limited his rights, but still the general suzerainty of the Porte was acknowledged, and Servia was recognized as a Moslem State. Along the Danube there were similar occurrences following on the revolutions of 1848. The prince of Wallachia accepted a constitution and then fled, a provisional government being established. The movement spread to Moldavia and Russian troops occupied the provinces, resulting

in an agreement between the Porte and Russia for a sort of mutual supervision. Similarly in Syria there had been trouble which called for the intervention of Europe for the protection of the Maronites against the Druzes. It was again, however, about the Holy Places in Jerusalem that the disturbance centered. During the reign of Mahmud II the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had been devasted by fire and the Greeks made the repairs, taking advantage of that to lay claim to the church, and consequently to all the Holy Places, thus superseding the French, who had the general primacy since the time of the Crusades. In 1851, the government of Louis Napoleon demanded and obtained from the Porte, on the basis of the capitulations of 1740, the formation of a mixed commission to look into the question of the possession of the Holy Places. France claimed (1) the monument of the Holy Sepulchre in the church of that name at Jerusalem; (2) the great cupola built above the Holy Sepulchre; (3) the stone of unction (this was not an exclusive claim); (4) the site of the tombs of the French kings in Adam's Chapel under Calvary; (5) the seven arched vaults of the Virgin; (6) the Church of Gethsemane and the tomb of the Virgin; (7) the upper Church of Bethlehem with the gardens and sanctuaries dependent upon it; (8) the mixed possession of the altar of Calvary. While making these general claims for the Latins, she declared that particular concessions would be made to the other communions, but they must be renewed annually. To these claims Russia objected very strenuously. After considerable discussion the commission recognized the rights of France, but proposed that the situation remain as it was, except the admission of the Latins into the Sanctuary of the Virgin and the right of Greeks to enter that of the

Ascension. France accepted this, but Russia objected, and this was followed by a special embassy to Constantinople to demand by virtue of the treaty of Kainardji the exclusive protection of all members of the Greek Church in Turkey, and the settlement of the question as to the Holy Places on terms granting the supremacy to the Greeks. This was in 1853. The Porte replied with moderation, stating its desire not to injure in any way the privileges of the various Christian subjects, and its wish to satisfy the demands of the Greek pilgrims and the Russian churches, but affirming that to accept the demands of Russia would be practically to destroy its own independence. The Russian ambassador, Menshikoff, renewed his demands, and said that further refusal would impose on his government the necessity of seeking it in its own power.

At this time Lord Stratford was absent. Ten years before he had met a somewhat similar difficulty by suggesting to the Porte that they make the repairs themselves, but now such a solution was no longer possible. It became evident that a crisis was at hand, and he was immediately ordered back from England. This was Lord Stratford's fifth embassy to Constantinople, and marked a new phase in his policy. When first there, he had had a long struggle with France, in which at the close he found himself in alliance with Russia; in the second and third he had united with France and Russia in seeking the pacification of Greece; in the fourth, which covered the early part of Abd-ul-Medjid's reign, there was no great difference between the Powers, and although his actions were looked upon with suspicion by Russia, he met with practically no interference in pressing for reform. Now, however, he found that the aggression of

Russia was becoming threatening. In private interviews between the Czar and the British ambassador at St. Petersburg in the early part of 1853, the Russians had made known a definite proposal to England to join in winding up the bankrupt estate of the "sick man." Servia, the Danubian Principalities and Bulgaria were to be independent under Russian protection; if circumstances obliged the Czar to occupy Constantinople, it would be as trustee and not as proprietor, and England might be free to appropriate territories as she chose, provided she did not undertake to hold the capital. All this he thought might be accomplished by the two Powers, and if they agreed, it made very little difference what France and Austria thought. This, however, was strongly opposed to the whole British policy, and Lord Stratford, immediately upon the decisive action of Prince Menshikoff, called the other representatives of the great Powers and laid the foundation for the European alliance, which was from that time steadily opposed to Russian aggression.

Russia announced in May her proposal to enter the Danubian Provinces, and France and England answered by despatching their fleets to the Island of Tenedos at the mouth of the Dardanelles. A conference was proposed at Vienna, but Turkey took the initiative by attacking the Russians in the principalities. Russia retorted by the destruction of a Turkish fleet at Sinop. The English and French fleets entered the Black Sea and obliged the Russians to withdraw to their own ports. A last attempt at peace was made by France, but the publication of the English ambassador's despatches at St. Petersburg stirred the indignation of France, Austria and Prussia, and the result was a general alliance of

the four kingdoms with Turkey. To this afterwards Sardinia was admitted, and Italy first appeared in the general European concert.

The story of the Crimean War it is not necessary to repeat here. The mismanagement of the British army at its commencement and that of the French at its close amazed the world. At last England's forces were well in hand and the possession of the Crimea was practically secured. Then France grew again suspicious of England's power and sought to hold a balance between her and Russia. Sevastopol fell in September of 1855, but the Czar had just died in chagrin at the complete failure of his plans and the terrible injuries and sufferings inflicted upon his people. His army had failed to take Silistria, and although Kars had fallen, the general rout of the Russian arms was so complete as to have made it possible to have carried the day completely. Alexander II was willing to treat, and a Congress met at Paris on the 25th of February, 1856. In this, France, England, Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Turkey and Russia appeared. Peace was signed on the 30th of March on the following basis:

1. Russia renounced her exclusive right of protection over the Danubian Principalities, and all interference with their internal affairs. 2. The free navigation of the Danube was to be effectually secured by the establishment of a commission, in which all the contracting parties should be represented. Each of them should have the right to station two sloops-of-war at the mouth of the river. Russia consented to a rectification of frontiers which should leave to Turkey and the Rumanian Principalities all the Danubian delta. 3. The Black Sea was made neutral; its waters, open to merchant ships of all nations, were forbidden to men-of-war, whether of

the Powers on the coasts or any others. No military or maritime arsenals were to be created there. Turkey and Russia could only maintain ten lightships to watch the coasts. 4. The *Hatti Sherif* by which Sultan Abd-ul-Medjid renewed the privileges of his non-Mussulman subjects was inserted in the treaty, but with the clause that the Powers could not quote this insertion as authorizing them to interfere between the Sultan and his subjects.

Russia thus lost both the domination of the Black Sea and the protectorate of the Eastern Christians; lost her fleets and naval arsenals on the Black Sea and the fortresses of the Crimea. The imprudent policy of Nicholas had destroyed the advantages gained by all the previous treaties. One clause, however, in the treaty was worth to her almost as much as these, and that was the one which prohibited the Powers from interfering between the Sultan and his subjects. Count Orloff with the aid of France proved more than a match for the rest. Something, however, was gained, and the treaty was scarcely signed when preparations were made, and soon after came the publication of the Hatti Humayoun, described in another chapter. Lord Stratford, when he heard of the treaty of Paris, said, "I would rather have cut off my right hand than have signed that treaty." In a letter written about that time he said:

"How are the Sultan's reforms to be carried through; the allied troops all gone and no power of foreign interference reserved? How is the country to be kept quiet if hopes and fears, equally excited in adverse quarters, have to find their own level? What means shall we possess of allaying the discordant elements if our credit is to decline and our influence to be overlaid by the persevering artifices of a jealous

and artful ally? How can we hope to supply the usefulness derivable from our command of the Contingent and Irregulars, if they are to be given up? In short, when I hear the politicians of the country remark that the troubles of Europe with respect to this empire are only beginning, I know not how to reply."

Lord Stratford soon returned to England, but visited Constantinople again, only to realize in the presence there of his successor, Sir Henry Bulwer, that his great work for Turkey was finished, and that much that he had striven for and obtained would be abandoned. Sir Henry Bulwer was a man of great diplomatic craft, but of the vilest moral character. He commanded the respect of nobody. The best English families in the city refused to receive him into their houses. He was a giver and receiver of bribes, and it became notorious that whenever the Turkish Government, or indeed anybody else, wished to carry through a scheme that might be supposed to be hostile to English interests, all they had to do was to send a sum of money to the English palace or a pair of fine horses to its stables. He was at last recalled for receiving a bribe of $50,000. He did everything in his power to undo the work that Lord Stratford had done and to prejudice the Turks against the reforms which he had been instrumental in inaugurating. With this appointment of Sir Henry Bulwer commenced the decadence of English influence at Constantinople and that long series of diplomatic blunders that have resulted in the feeling on the part of every class of people in the Turkish Empire that England is a synonym for treachery and disgrace. There have been fine men in the English embassy: Lord Lyons, so well known in the diplomatic circles in Washington, was there for a time, and had he remained, it

is probable that much of the lost ground would have been regained, but he was promoted to Paris; Lord Dufferin was there for a time and his well-known high character and great ability accomplished much, but his term was very short; Sir William White had a period of most successful conduct of English interests, but he was removed by death. Since 1857, the English embassy at Constantinople has been occupied the greater portion of the time by Sir Henry Bulwer, a man of great ability, but of the lowest character; Sir Henry Elliot, a man of high personal character, but of no diplomatic ability; Sir Austen Layard, not dissimilar to Sir Henry Elliott, and of late years by Sir Philip Currie, a man of ability and force of character, but hampered by his relations and not equipped by diplomatic tact and skill to meet the wiles of Russian diplomacy.

The next most important event after the treaty of Paris was the atrocities in Syria, where vast numbers of the Maronites were massacred by the Druzes. All Europe was filled with horror, and France sprang to the front to reassert her former supremacy. The French fleet anchored in front of Beirut; French troops held the road to Damascus, and Syria became for the time being a French colony. The influence of other powers, however, prevented her securing occupation and Fuad Pasha represented the Turkish Government with such success in the quieting of the Moslem turmoil that the Sultan succeeded in preserving his hold upon that portion of his empire. This much, however, was gained; a reorganization of the government was secured and the province of Lebanon was established under a Christian governor, to be appointed with and not to be removed without the consent of European Powers. This proved a great

boon, and Syria was at peace as she had not been for centuries.

In 1861, Abd-ul-Medjid died and his brother Abd-ul-Aziz came to the throne. The new Sultan was a man of entirely different type from either of his predecessors; low-browed, coarse, sensual, given up to the gratification of personal passions and personal pique; caring for nothing except his personal comfort and the gratification of his personal pride; a coward, a tyrant, the tool of designing men, utterly weak for any good. At times strong men, like Fuad and Ali and Midhat and Ahmed Vefyk Pashas, succeeded in gaining a temporary power, but they could accomplish comparatively little for good, and the Turkish court from 1871 to 1876 was the scene of unbounded extravagance and corruption.

Outwardly the reign was one of great progress. The navy was built up and put on a footing which brought the Turkish Government on a reasonable par with the other Mediterranean Governments; the army was developed and its organization was brought into better shape than at any time previous; palaces and public buildings were erected. Up to the reign of Abd-ul-Medjid the Sultans had occupied the famous old palace of the Seraglio, but it was becoming out of date, and furthermore, there were so many traditions of violence and crime connected with it that there was a pall of superstition hanging over it. Abd-ul-Medjid built the palace of Dolma-Bagtche, which contains one of the finest throne-rooms in the world. It was sumptuously furnished and most beautifully decorated. When Abd-ul-Aziz came to the throne this was not sufficient and he put up the palace at Tcheragan, just above, with adornments even surpassing in beauty, in some respects, those of Dolma-Bagtche. Other old palaces

were torn down and beautiful buildings erected in their place. There were new roads built and efforts to improve the general condition of the city. Constantinople itself has always suffered from fires; the crowded wooden buildings furnished the best possible food for conflagration, and the absolutely worthless fire department seemed to help on rather than hinder the flames. One great fire occurred in the latter part of the reign, and it was common report that under the Sultan's special orders no efforts were made to stop it. It spread right through the city from the Golden Horn to the Marmora, and was checked only as it came up against the high walls of the Armenian Patriarchate. The generally understood reason for the action of the government was that it might build up this section again in more approved modern style. At any rate this was done, and the whole of that region to-day bears a far different appearance from other sections of the city. Wide streets took the place of the narrow lanes, and brick and stone houses replaced the wooden fire-traps. At the same time concessions were granted on every hand for improvements of all sorts. European speculators thronged in crowds around the offices of the Sublime Porte and the gateways of the palace. They paid heavy bribes and secured the most valuable subventions. Among the most notorious, and one which yet was a fair illustration of many others, was that for the railway extending from Constantinople to Adrianople. An Austrian financier secured the concession, and the contract awarded him so much for each kilometer. The result was that the road, by taking advantage of every possible turn, avoiding grades and bridges so far as possible, nearly doubled the distance in a straight line between the two cities. Care was taken also to have the different stations

at sufficient distance from the principal places on the route, apparently in order to provide additional income to those who wished to connect the cities with the railroad. The whole matter was a "job" of the most stupendous character, and was a simple illustration of what was done all over the empire. The government borrowed money with absolute recklessness. Engagements were entered into without the slightest careful investigation as to the resources of the empire and extravagance ran riot.

At the same time there were more favorable features. It was during this period that Robert College in Constantinople, the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut, the Bible House in Constantinople and various other educational and philanthropic institutions were started. So long as the immediate interests of the more avaricious Turks were not interfered with, there was in a degree free hand for those who sought to improve the general condition of the people. Foreign influence was at its height and many a native, not merely Christian, but Turk, rejoiced in the support of those who sought not any sectarian advantage, but the general improvement of the country. In the administration of the government the offices were filled to a degree as had never before been known with Christians. There were large number of Europeans—English, German and French; and with all the bribery and extortion there was more of business enterprise than had been known during any of the preceding reigns. Armenians and Greeks also were pushed to the front. Their abilities were recognized by the heads of departments, and the pressure on every hand for the rapid accomplishment of enterprises, which called for more of energy than the average Turk was willing to exert, resulted in great opportunities for

those who were willing to work—and laziness has never been a general vice of any of the Christian populations of the Levant. This had its effect in ameliorating the condition of the Christians; at the same time, as is noticed in other chapters, this rapid improvement brought with it increasing information and still higher ideas. All of the Christian subjects of the Sultan began to feel still more restive under the Moslem tyranny, for that tyranny still existed. The absence of any genuine conception of reform or of good government in the Sultans inevitably affected the whole management of the empire, and taxation was scarcely less severe than it had been in the past, the chief improvement being in the freedom from certain other influences that worked heavily against the Christians. Thus it came about that there was perhaps more restiveness throughout the empire than there had been previously.

Soon after the disturbances in Syria, the Grand Vizier, Ali Pasha, made public a new system of provincial government in which each province was to have a Christian vice-governor and advisory council composed of Moslems and Christians, an independent judiciary and a complete police force. The first application of this was to the province of the Danube, including Bulgaria, which was placed under Mithad Pasha, perhaps the most aggressive of all the officials that Turkey has ever had. He carried it out there with great success, and in a year and a half brigandage was practically extinct in the province; several hundreds of miles of road had been built, and schools, city hospitals, banks and steam navigation companies had been established. In 1867 the system was ordered to be applied throughout the empire, and the foreign Powers acted as if they thought that the reorganization was

really going to be carried out. It seems scarcely possible that they should have been thoroughly deceived in this, for they knew perfectly well that the intricacy of the system offered abundant facility for corruption, and that the contempt felt by all Moslems for any laws not based upon the Koran would effectually check the application of the European code. As a matter of fact the whole system was lifeless from the beginning, and with the death of Ali Pasha all pretense of carrying it out disappeared. He, however, accomplished this much, that he warded off active interference on the part of Europe for fifteen years. He was followed by Mahmud Nedim Pasha, a man of strong individuality, who claimed that the Sultan could brook no interference of Europe in the internal affairs of Turkey, and announced his determination to govern upon the principle that Western civilization is inherently unfit for the needs of Eastern races. In this he had the cordial support of the Turks, and more significant still, of the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, General Ignatief, probably the shrewdest representative that Russia ever had at the Sublime Porte, and one to whom perhaps more than to any one else has been due the policy which Russia has followed out unwaveringly, of opposing any active interference on the part of Europe in the internal management of the Ottoman Government. That this was prompted by any interest in Turkey no one will believe. It was simply the plan by which the situation was to grow worse and worse until it became inevitable for Russia herself to intervene and take what she desired.

The results of this were soon manifest. In the summer of 1875 commenced revolt in Herzegovina, extending to Bosnia. Already there had been disturbance in the Danubian Prov-

GROUP OF ARMENIAN YOUNG MEN, students at the Euphrates College at Harput. This is a good representative of the type of young men from that section. They are mostly from sixteen to twenty-five years of age, though occasionally one is found among them of advanced years taking the course in order to fit himself for special teaching or preaching.

THE CITY OF MARSOVAN IN ASIA MINOR. The white houses are the buildings occupied by the American missionaries, also Anatolia College. The roofs of the houses are chiefly of curved tiles. The background furnishes a good idea of the general hill region of the country. Marsovan was the seat of some disturbances early in 1893.

inces resulting in an increased independency; then came the famous Andrassy note, in which Austria demanded reforms in the Balkan Peninsula, opposed by the Turks as derogatory to their honor. Meanwhile Russian embassies were at work throughout the Balkan Peninsula, and Bulgarians on every hand were being roused to a pitch of intense hostility to Turkish rule. Then came Russian proposals skilfully arranged in such form as to arouse hostility rather than the support of the other Powers and also the fanaticism of the Turks. The result was a series of arbitrary arrests of Bulgarians, the sending of troops into Bulgaria and the providing of Moslems with arms for use in case of the arising of the Christians. Then came an outbreak in Salonica, when the European consuls were beaten to death by a fanatic mob, followed by a general movement throughout Bulgaria attended by an outbreak of Softas in Constantinople. The utter incapacity of Abd-ul-Aziz was more and more evident, and there was a revolt under the lead of Mithad Pasha. A fetvah was secured from the Sheik-ul-Islam, Abd-ul-Aziz was dethroned, and notwithstanding the intrigues that had been going on for several years in favor of his own son, the legal heir, Murad, his nephew and the son of Abd-ul-Medjid, became Sultan. Meanwhile the atrocities in Bulgaria continued and it became evident that Murad was unequal to the task. Abd-ul-Aziz had been assassinated, as was generally understood, as were also some of the ministers. The whole situation in Constantinople was chaos when Abd-ul-Hamid II came to the throne. At this time Servia declared war, and the situation throughout the empire became more and more serious. Abd-ul-Hamid banished Mithad Pasha and convened the first Turkish Parliament. For a while it

seemed as if something were going to be done, but negotiations were followed by protocols, protocols by protests, and in April, 1887, Russia declared war, feeling that there would be no great opposition to the advance of her army which she had been massing in Bessarabia. The story of the war that followed, both in Eastern Turkey and on the Danube, is familiar. The determined opposition of the Turkish troops, the defense of Plevna, the storming of the Shipka Pass and the final advance through Bulgaria, until the Russian army had captured Adrianople and was massed on the very outskirts of Constantinople, formed a panorama of intense interest. All this was watched with great interest and some solicitude by Europe, which came to realize that Russia was on the point of securing the end that she had had in view for so long. England was the only power to act and her fleet was anchored in Besika Bay, just outside of the Dardanelles. The armistice and terms of peace between Turkey and Russia, forming the basis of the treaty of San Stephano, were signed at Adrianople January 31st; the treaty itself at San Stefano, within sight of Constantinople, March 3d, 1878. The conditions comprised the establishment of a principality of Bulgaria, the payment of a war indemnity or a territorial compensation; the independence of Rumania, Servia and Montenegro, with an increase of territory for each of the principalities, the introduction of reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina and ulterior understanding between the Sultan and the Czar in regard to the Straits and the evacuation by the Turks of the fortresses of the Danube. As soon as this became known England was alarmed and the fleet was sent through the Dardanelles, and for the second time in history anchored at the Princes' Islands.

It has been a subject of much discussion, why Russia did not improve her opportunity, and seize Constantinople when it was in her power. She could have done this with comparative ease, at least so many think. Others claim that the Turks were in condition to offer considerable resistance still, and that Russia knew very well that Europe, especially England, would not permit her to carry out the plan without war. For this certainly she was not prepared. So also there were many questions in regard to partition of the empire which may well have made her hesitate, and of which mention will be made in a later chapter on the general question of the partition of the empire. Whatever were the reasons, a halt was called. Then came the field of diplomacy. England and Austria, through their Ambassadors at St. Petersburg and Constantinople, announced that they would refuse to recognize conditions of peace in contravention of the terms of the Treaty of Paris, except as Europe had an opportunity to consider them. Russia declared that all such terms would be submitted to a review by the Powers. Finally a Conference of the Powers was called, first at Vienna, then at Baden-Baden, and finally at Berlin. A difficulty arose in regard to the submission to the Conference of the entire treaty of San Stephano. This was demanded by England and refused by Russia. For a time it seemed as if war was imminent, but at last a general agreement having been reached by mutual conference between Russia, England and Austria, the representatives of England, Austria, Russia, France, Italy and Turkey met at Berlin in June, 1878, and remained one month, the Treaty being signed upon the 13th of July. Its main points may be summarized as follows:

1. Bulgaria, including Sophia, to be constituted a tributary

principality of the Sultan, ruled by a prince and an elected assembly, and to be organized under a Russian Commissary General assisted by delegates from the European Powers. The period of organization not to exceed nine months.

2. A province called Eastern Rumelia to be formed on the south of the Balkans, and to be governed by a Christian under the orders of the Sultan. The organization of this province to be under control of a commission appointed by the European Powers. Russian troops, not to exceed 50,000 in number, to occupy Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia during nine months, and to fully evacuate both provinces within three months after this period.

3. Administrative modifications promised in 1868 to be introduced in the island of Crete. Similar modifications to be introduced in the administration of all the provinces of European Turkey which are not otherwise provided for. These details of this reorganization to be submitted to the European Commission charged with the organization of Eastern Rumelia.

4. If Greece and Turkey fail to agree upon the ratification of the frontier indicated in the proceedings of the Congress, the Powers reserve the right to offer mediation to the two parties.

5. Bosnia and Herzegovina to be occupied by Austria.

6. Montenegro to be constituted an independent principality, with enlargement of territory (equal in amount to its whole previous area), including the seaport of Antivari, but not to be allowed to hold either ships or flags of war, and its ports to be controlled by Austrian revenue cutters.

7. Servia to be constituted an independent principality, with large additions of territory on the south and east.

8. Rumania to be constituted an independent principality, to cede to Russia the portion of Bessarabia taken from Russia by the Treaty of Paris of 1856, and to receive in exchange the district of the Dobruja.

9. Kars, Ardahan and Batum to be ceded by Turkey to Russia, and Katour to Persia.

10. The Turkish Government to introduce without delay suitable measures of reform in all districts inhabited by Armenians.

11. Absolute religious liberty to exist in all the territories referred to above, including the whole Turkish Empire.

The gain of Turkey, by the substitution of the treaty of Berlin for that of San Stephano, was in the territories cut by this new treaty from the principalities erected by the older one, and in the substitution of a European supervision for a Russian supervision of the execution of the treaty.

Meanwhile other negotiations had been going on, and just before the close of the Congress the British Government announced a treaty concluded with the Porte consisting of the following Articles:

"Article I. If Batum, Ardahan, Kars, or any of them, shall be retained by Russia, and if any attempt shall be made at any future time by Russia to take possession of any further territories of his Imperial Majesty the Sultan in Asia, as fixed by the definitive treaty of peace, England engages to join his Imperial Majesty the Sultan in defending them by force of arms.

"In return, his Imperial Majesty the Sultan promises to England to introduce necessary reforms, to be agreed upon later between the two Powers, into the government, and for the protection of the Christian and other subjects of the

Porte in these territories; and in order to enable England to make necessary provision for executing her engagement, his Imperial Majesty the Sultan further consents to assign the Island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England.

"Article II. The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged, within the space of one month, or sooner if possible."

To all appearance England had triumphed. Not only had the treaty of San Stephano been set aside, but the Sultan had practically recognized her as his most potent and most influential ally. The prestige lost during twenty years of mismanagement had suddenly by a master stroke been regained, and all the Christians of Turkey were jubilant. The new Sultan was looked upon as a mild man thoroughly desirous of the good of his people, and there were the brightest anticipations of genuine reform. At this point it will be advantageous to look at the constitution of the Turkish Government.

CHAPTER XV.

Condition of the Christians.

The Christians under Early Moslem Rule—Mohammed II—General Oppression—Protection by French Government—Russian Intrigue—Power of the Greek Church—Reforms under Mahmud II and Abd-ul-Medjid—The Hatti Humayoun—General Improvement Throughout the Empire.

UP to the time of the capture of Constantinople, the relations of the Moslem Sultans to the Christians were simply those of tyrants, who collected what they could and recognized no rights of any kind on the part of those who refused to accept Islam. The fact, however, that there was scarcely any organized government of any kind made matters worse, and soon after the establishment of the dynasty, even as for back as 1360, just after the death of Orchan, it is said that some Armenian refugees came to Edward III, at Reading, made complaint that the Mussulmans were trying to exterminate their people, and asked leave to live in England and collect subscriptions for their fellow-sufferers. The king granted the petition, took the Armenians under his protection, but only so long as the protected should do nothing injurious to his realm, and should "bear themselves in true faith and honesty." But it was not only the Armenians who suffered. On both sides of the Bosporus and the Dardanelles the

Greeks felt the pressure of Ottoman power, and the situation all through southeastern Europe was one of terror.

Among the greatest causes for suffering was the organization of the Janissaries. So long as Christian captives were constantly being taken, every fifth captive was claimed for the Sultan's service. The most robust and handsome were trained for the regular military service, and formed the basis of the famous body of Janissaries. Later, when the extension of dominion put a stop to this source of supply, a tax was laid by which every fifth male child of the Christian population of the empire was converted by force and added to this company, until it has been estimated that in the course of three centuries not less than five million Christian children were sacrificed to this policy of the Sultans. The effect was twofold; it kept the Christian peoples in a constant state of subjection and terror, and it served as a heavy tax upon their actual strength by removing the most virile portion of the population.

With the conquest of Constantinople there was a measure of relief in the situation. Yet in one aspect it became even worse. Under the policy of Mohammed II, by which he sought to strengthen his capital, there was formed a group of Greeks associated with the Patriarchs, to whom was granted a special section of the city called then and still the Phanar or Fanar. These Fanariotes became notorious for their intrigues and unreliability. Their relations with the Ottomans seemed to develop the very worst elements of the Greek character, and there commenced under them that style of life which has done more to degrade the Christians of the Levant than almost anything else. One illustration of this is seen in the fact of the very great number of Turkish officials of

Christian origin. Under Mohammed, of five grand viziers four were Christians—two Greeks and two Illyrians; under Suleiman the Magnificent, of nine grand viziers eight were of Christian origin. With such opportunities opened for advancement and wealth, the great surprise is, not that there were so many defections, but that there were so few. The recognition of the overpowering tyranny of the government, the realization that that tyranny could be averted only by catering to the passions or the cupidity of the ruling class, developed a servility and treachery that has been the bane of the Christian races of the Ottoman Empire. The same result was assisted by the peculiar ecclesiastical rule which was established. The worst features of the union of Church and State were manifest, and the priests became even more political leaders than spiritual guides.

The various revolutions noticed in the preceding chapters operated also to bind still more closely the chains of oppression upon the Christian populations. Were it possible to learn the detailed history of those centuries, undoubtedly instance after instance would be given of heroic defense and of loyalty to their faith on the part of every class and every church. On the other hand, the barbarism of the age had its effects upon the Christian chiefs, and both in Europe and in Asia, though especially in Europe, the Christians of Hungary, Moldavia, Bosnia and Dalmatia were allied to Turkish Pashas in ferocity.

The commencement of treaty relations between Turkey and the European powers was the first gleam of light that came to the Christian subjects of the Sultans. The simple fact that there were Christians recognized as having rights, in itself gave some encouragement, even to those who did

not share in the immediate benefits accorded to those connected with the Roman Catholic Church. The appearance of Catholic missions and convents in the various Turkish States, the protection of Roman Catholic Christians, especially in Syria, in their pilgrimages to Jerusalem, gave to all classes —Greeks, Armenians, and others—a degree of hope that the time might come when their load should be lightened. In the main, however, the interest of Europe was political rather than religious, and for the most part the Christians were so thoroughly left to themselves that almost their only hope lay in securing the friendship, by whatever means were available, of their Moslem rulers. When by chance there came a milder governor, especially in the European provinces, the subject Christians would be found willing to sustain the cause of the Turks, and in more than one instance the primates were found to have intrigued in favor of the Porte. The French Ambassador, De Brèves, rendered noble service when, in Constantinople, he threw himself between the infuriated Janissaries and the churches of Galata, declaring that he would defend at the peril of his life the exercise of the Christian religion; so also when he averted an initial massacre at Scio and preserved the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to the Christian faith. It was no vain boast he made when he claimed to have given liberty to from one thousand to twelve hundred men who had been made slaves at different times.

A picture of the condition of the Christians a century after the capture of Constantinople is given by a traveler, who describes them in 1571 as so depraved and degraded that they hardly dared look a Turk in the face; the only care of their listless existence being to raise enough for their maintenance and pay the kharadj and poll tax—all beyond

would be seized by the Turks. In Constantinople only was there any security, and here at the end of the sixteenth century it is said that there were not less than 100,000 of them, many of whom acquired wealth either by trade or farming the revenues. One such was reported to have the fate of whole provinces in his hands, and the splendor of his palace rivalled that of the Sultan.

It was perhaps in view of this condition that the French ambassador, De Brèves, in presenting his defense of the Franco-Turkish alliance dwelt to a considerable extent on the advantage accruing to the Christian population from the French influence. He dwelt upon the number of monasteries permitted by the Sultan in Constantinople, colleges established by the Jesuits, the number of bishops in the different Turkish States and the honor coming to the French name by the securing of the protection of the Holy Places. But it was not only the Roman Catholics that he felt would be benefited. Reference was specially made to the Greek and Armenian Christians and to the Copts of Egypt, all of whom in their pressing necessities and terrible oppression were glad to have recourse to the powerful support of the French kings. In connection with this French influence commenced Jesuit intrigues, and the priests already conceived great projects for the re-establishment of Roman Catholicism in the East. The English ambassador denounced them as spies of Spain and alarmed the Turkish Government; so they were arrested and imprisoned. Their release was immediately secured, but the Ottoman Government did not hesitate to declare that it preferred to see ten ordinary priests rather than one Jesuit in Constantinople. So much did this prejudice increase that a few years later, notwithstanding the

utmost efforts of the French Ambassador, the Jesuits were banished from Constantinople for the period of twelve years. At about this same time, the early part of the seventeenth century, we find the Armenians developing considerable influence. They had spread throughout Asia Minor and had increased their colony in Jerusalem to such a degree that they had forced the Catholic monks from the Holy Places at Bethlehem and taken possession of them themselves, only in turn to be removed on appeal to the French Government. Perhaps on account partly of the aggressive action of some of the French ambassadors, at about the same time, free reins seem to have been given to the fanatical fury of the Ottomans against the Christians in different parts of the empire, and even in Constantinople itself the churches were closed and terror reigned everywhere. Sultan Ibrahim I gave way to such furious anger in consequence of some European successes, that he resolved to exterminate all the Christians in the empire. This, however, was limited, on the representation of the Moslem Mufti to Europeans only, and next, under the protest of his ministers, to the Roman Catholic priests. The order for these massacres was given, and for several days the Franks dwelling in Constantinople believed themselves doomed to certain death. It was, however, revoked after much diplomatic pressure.

The general effect of all this was to stir the Catholic world and arouse the religious zeal even in France for war against the infidels, and this had no slight influence upon the strange vicissitudes of Turco-European diplomacy, all of which accomplished practically little for the general welfare of the Christians. The war in Hungary resulted in the carrying of nearly 80,000 Christians into slavery and the general con-

dition was most deplorable. Occasionally there was a little relief when such men as the Kuprulis held sway and introduced certain modifications of the bitterness of Moslem rule for the benefit of the Christian subjects of the Sultan, but in the main fanaticism ruled and the Christian was looked upon in the typical Moslem style, as a mere slave who had no rights of any kind, simply duties.

With the peace of Carlowitz came into prominence the power of the Greek Church. Already there had been more or less of conflict, but now that assumed very great proportions. Not that there was much of Christianity in it. The belief professed by the people and even by the priests was probably the most superstitious form of the faith that had ever been set forth. The church, however, was led by men and women of great power, and their Christianity, even though largely destitute of moral power, was available for some mitigation of the sufferings of those at least whom they recognized as akin in Christian faith. As early as 1670 an English historian calls attention to fact that the Greeks throughout the empire turned to the Russian as their protector and claimed that according to all their prophecies, ancient and modern, he was destined to be the restorer of their church and their freedom. This feeling was industriously strengthened by Russian emissaries. The Czar issued a proclamation guaranteeing to the Moldo-Wallachians the exclusive exercise of the Greek religion. A bishop was seen at Jerusalem circulating a report that the Turks would be driven out of Europe by the Russian nation, and Peter evidently hoped for a revolt of all the adherents of the Greek religion. This mingling of politics with religion, however, accomplished very little for the general welfare of the

people. Indeed in some respects it seems to have made it worse. It roused the suspicions of the Turkish rulers, and wherever they were naturally under the influence of fanaticism it assisted rather than hindered the practice of outrageous oppression. Especially was this true in the interior provinces. Whatever of relief came was upon the borders. In Constantinople, Smyrna and in Syria there was some pretence of protection. But inland this disappeared entirely, and the description given in previous chapters of the general demoralization of the Turkish Empire emphasizes the terrible condition of the Christian population. That they retained their faith and even their national unity is a marvelous tribute to their character and to the genuineness—if ignorant and superstitious—of their religious belief.

Still there was growth and the treaty of Kainardji in 1774, as it opened a wide door for Russian usurpation, opened also a wide door of hope for the Christian population. The promise of the Porte to protect the Christian religion and its churches, although vague, really accomplished something, and even those who refused any association with the Greek Church reaped, perhaps to a slightly better degree, the benefits of their fellows. The most, however, that can be said is very little, and the general condition of the Christian population of the Turkish Empire at the close of the last century and the commencement of the reign of Mahmud was one of intense suffering.

About this time the Christians were distributed in the main as at present. The Greeks occupied the coast both of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, extending somewhat inland from Smyrna and Adana and occupying villages in Central Asia Minor; the Armenians in largest numbers in their

ancestral country, Erzrum, extended from the eastern end of the Black Sea south to the region of Van. They were also found in increasing numbers throughout Asia Minor and Northern Syria. The Syrians of Mesopotamia had fled to a considerable extent to the mountains where they led a sort of feudal life, scarcely to be distinguished from the Kurds surrounding them; those on the Mesopotamia plain, Syrians or Chaldeans, were constantly subject to the oppression of the Pashas; the Maronites of Syria occupied the Lebanon heights and the Copts were in the towns of the Nile valley. In European Turkey attention was mostly drawn to the Servians and Wallachians; the Bulgarians had as yet not attained any such national power as to bring them particularly into prominence.

The early part of the reign of Mahmud II accomplished very little for the Christians. Attention was directed more especially to the Greeks and their efforts for independence, and foreign nations were too absorbed in their international politics to pay much attention to the general condition of the Sultan's Christian subjects. The Greek insurrection brought heavy loss upon their communities, and the massacre at Scio, which left scarce 900 out of 100,000, startled the whole Christian world and operated strongly to bring about the independence of Greece, just as, later, the Bulgarian massacres resulted in an independent Bulgaria. Mahmud's ideas were tolerant. He realized the value to the state of the ability and shrewdness of his Christian subjects, as is shown by his calling numbers of Armenians to hold positions of influence in the government, and had he been free to act as he desired, undoubtedly their condition would have been very much ameliorated. As it was, it improved. One influence that worked

in this direction was the arrival of the American missionaries at Constantinople in 1831 and their subsequent rapid spread over the empire. The first effect indeed seemed unfortunate. The preaching of evangelical ideas aroused the bitterest hostility of the Armenian and Greek ecclesiastics, and appeared to increase the difficulties. This very fact, however, aroused attention, and the persecution of the Evangelicals called out the sympathies of Lord Stratford, who, though always holding an impartial position, never allowing himself to appear as the special defender of the missionaries, was able to bring to bear considerable influence in favor of religious liberty and thus improve the general condition of the people. The war with Mehemet Ali and his son, Ibrahim Pasha, was felt very severely by the interior Christian communities, and when Mahmud II died, in 1839, there seemed little hope of great improvement.

The reign of Abd-ul-Medjid, 1839–1861, was, at least, so far as the Christians were concerned, the golden era of the Ottoman Sultans. He inherited his father's liberal ideas, and furthermore had the good sense to call to his aid some of the best statesmen that Turkey has known, men who cordially endorsed his schemes for the general improvement of the situation in the empire. Almost his first act was the promulgation of the Hatti Sherif of Gulhané, a charter of equal rights for all subjects of the Sultan. This was chiefly political in its scope, having regard to the relations between the subject and the government, and is noticed somewhat at length in the chapter on Reforms and Progress. It was noticeable chiefly, so far as the Christians were concerned, for its recognition of their right to the same protection and justice which was accorded to Moslems. The difficulty of carrying out any such

SULTAN OF TURKEY. Sultan Abdul Hamid II is now fifty-four years old. Personally, he is a man with whom intercourse is extremely pleasant. His position has been a very difficult one, and he by identifying himself with the reactionary party has made himself responsible for the terrible outrages in his empire.

AUDIENCE AT THE PALACE. The Sultan and his Grand Vizier are giving audience to Sir Phillip Currie, and his secretary. The room is in the palace of Dolma Baghtche, one of the most beautiful and richly ornamented in the world. The attendant standing is an interpreter or palace official.

scheme as this was made evident by the terrible massacres which occurred in Eastern Turkey, when the Nestorians and Jacobites suffered at the hands of Badir Khan Bey and his Turkish hordes (see chapter on the Nestorians). In general, however, there was peace, and on every hand the condition of the Christian population improved.

In 1853 appeared a firman recognizing the Protestant community and giving them all the rights belonging to any other Christian race. This was a great advance in the recognition of the principle of religious liberty, and paved the way for the next step.

In 1856 appeared the most notable proclamation ever issued by a Moslem ruler, the Hatti Humayoun. This was specially for the Christian races, and on account of its great importance as well as general interest, is given below in full.

HATTI HUMAYOUN.

"Let it be done as herein set forth.*

"To you, my Grand Vizier, Mohammed Emin Ali Pasha, decorated with my imperial order of the medjidieh of the first class, and with the order of personal merit; may God grant to you greatness and increase your power.

"It has always been my most earnest desire to insure the happiness of all classes of the subjects whom Divine Providence has placed under my imperial sceptre, and since my accession to the throne I have not ceased to direct all my efforts to the attainment of that end.

"Thanks to the Almighty, these unceasing efforts have already been productive of numerous useful results. From day to day the happiness of the nation and the wealth of my dominions go on augmenting.

"It being now my desire to renew and enlarge still more the new institutions ordained with a view of establishing a state of things conformable with the dignity of my empire and the position which it occupies among civilized nations, and the rights of my empire having, by the fidelity and

* These words, written by the Sultan's own hand, constitute the decree a Hatti Humayoun.

praiseworthy efforts of all my subjects, and by the kind and friendly assistance of the great powers, my noble allies, received from abroad a confirmation which will be the commencement of a new era, it is my desire to augment its well-being and prosperity, to effect the happiness of all my subjects, who in my sight are all equal, and equally dear to me, and who are united to each other by the cordial ties of patriotism, and to insure the means of daily increasing the prosperity of my empire.

"I have therefore resolved upon, and I order the execution of the following measures:

"The guarantees promised on our part by the Hatti Humayoun of Gulhané (No. 188), and in conformity with the Tanzimat (scheme of reform), to all the subjects of my empire, without distinction of classes or of religion, for the security of their persons and property, and the preservation of their honor, are to-day confirmed and consolidated, and efficacious measures shall be taken in order that they may have their full, entire effect.

"All the privileges and spiritual immunities granted by my ancestors *ab antiquo*, and at subsequent dates, to all Christian communities or other non-Mussulman persuasions established in my empire, under my protection, shall be confirmed and maintained.

"Every Christian or other non-Mussulman community shall be bound within a fixed period, and with the concurrence of a commission composed *ad hoc* of members of its own body, to proceed, with my high approbation and under the inspection of my Sublime Porte, to examine into its actual immunities and privileges, and to discuss and submit to my Sublime Porte the reforms required by the progress of civilization and of the age. The powers conceded to the Christian patriarchs and bishops by the Sultan Mohammed II, and by his successors, shall be made to harmonize with the new position which my generous and beneficent intentions insure to those communities.

"The principle of nominating the patriarchs for life, after the revision of the rule of election now in force, shall be exactly carried out, conformably to the tenor of their firmans of investiture.

"The patriarchs, metropolitans, archbishops, bishops and rabbins shall take an oath on their entrance into office, according to a form agreed upon in common by my Sublime Porte and the spiritual heads of the different religious communities. The ecclesiastical dues, of whatever sort or nature they be, shall be abolished and replaced by fixed revenues of the patriarchs and heads of communities, and by the allocations of allowances and salaries

equitably proportioned to the importance, the rank, and the dignity of the different members of the clergy.

"The property, real or personal, of the different Christian ecclesiastics shall remain intact; the temporal administration of the Christian or other non-Mussulman communities shall, however, be placed under the safeguard of an assembly to be chosen from among the members, both ecclesiastics and laymen, of the said communities.

"In the towns, small boroughs, and villages where the whole population is of the same religion, no obstacle shall be offered to the repair, according to their original plan, of buildings set apart for religious worship, for schools, for hospitals and for cemeteries.

"The plans of these different buildings in case of their new erection, must, after having been approved by the patriarchs or heads of communities, be submitted to my Sublime Porte, which will approve of them by my imperial order, or make known its observations upon them within a certain time. Each sect, in localities where there are no other religious denominations, shall be free from every species of restraint as regards the public exercise of its religion.

"In the towns, small boroughs, and villages where different sects are mingled together, each community inhabiting a distinct quarter, shall, by conforming to the above-mentioned ordinances, have equal power to repair and improve its churches, its hospitals, its schools, and its cemeteries. When there is question of their erection of new buildings, the necessary authority must be asked for, through the medium of the patriarchs and heads of communities from my Sublime Porte, which will pronounce a sovereign decision according that authority, except in the case of administrative obstacles.

"The intervention of the administrative authority in all measures of this nature will be entirely gratuitous. My Sublime Porte will take energetic measures to insure to each sect, whatever be the number of its adherents, entire freedom in the exercise of its religion. Every distinction or designation tending to make any class whatever of the subjects of my empire inferior to another class, on account of their religion, language, or race, shall be forever effaced from administrative protocol. The laws shall be put in force against the use of any injurious or offensive term, either among private individuals or on the part of the authorities.

"As all forms of religion are and shall be freely professed in my dominions,

no subject of my empire shall be hindered in the exercise of the religion that he professes, nor shall he be in any way annoyed on this account. No one shall be compelled to change his religion.

"The nomination and choice of all functionaries and other employes of my empire being wholly dependent upon my sovereign will, all the subjects of my empire, without distinction of nationality, shall be admissible to public employments, and qualified to fill them according to their capacity and merit, and conformably with the rules to be generally applied.

"All the subjects of my empire, without distinction, shall be received into the civil and military schools of the government, if they otherwise satisfy the conditions as to age and examination which are specified in the organic regulations of the said schools. Moreover, every community is authorized to establish public schools of science, art, and industry. Only the method of instruction and the choice of professors in schools of this class shall be under the control of a mixed council of public instruction, the members of which shall be named by my sovereign command.

"All commercial, correctional, and criminal suits between Mussulmans and Christians, or other non-Mussulman subjects, or between Christian or other non-Mussulmans of different sects, shall be referred to mixed tribunals.

"The proceedings of these tribunals shall be public; the parties shall be confronted and shall produce their witnesses, whose testimony shall be received without distinction, upon an oath taken according to the religious law of each sect.

"Suits relating to civil affairs shall continue to be publicly tried, according to the laws and regulations, before the mixed provincial councils, in the presence of the governor and judge of the place.

"Special civil proceedings, such as those relating to successions or others of that kind, between subjects of the same Christian or other non-Mussulman faith, may, at the request of the parties, be sent before the councils of the patriarchs or of the communities.

"Penal, correctional, and commercial laws, and rules of procedure for the mixed tribunals, shall be drawn up as soon as possible and formed into a code. Translations of them shall be published in all the languages current in the empire.

"Proceedings shall be taken with as little delay as possible, for the reform of the penitentiary system as applied to houses of detention, punishment, or correction, and other establishments of like nature, so as

to reconcile the rights of humanity with those of justice. Corporal punishment shall not be administered, even in the prisons, except in conformity with the disciplinary regulations established by my Sublime Porte; and everything that resembles torture shall be entirely abolished.

"Infractions of the law in this particular shall be severely repressed, and shall besides entail, as of right, the punishment, in comformity with the civil code, of the authorities who may order and of the agents who may commit them.

"The organization of the police in the capital, in the provincial towns and in the rural districts, shall be revised in such a manner as to give to all the peaceable subjects of my empire the strongest guarantees for the safety both of their persons and property.

"The equality of taxes entailing equality of burdens, as equality of duties entails that of rights, Christian subjects and those of other non-Mussulman sects, as it has been already decided, shall, as well as Mussulmans, be subject to the obligations of the law of recruitment.

"The principle of obtaining substitutes, or of purchasing, shall be admitted. A complete law shall be published, with as little delay as possible, respecting the admission into and service in the army of Christian and other non-Mussulman subjects.

"Proceedings shall be taken for a reform in the constitution of the provincial and communal councils in order to insure fairness in the choice of the deputies of the Mussulman, Christian, and other communities, and freedom of voting in the councils.

"My Sublime Porte will take into consideration the adoption of the most effectual means for ascertaining exactly and for controlling the result of the deliberations and of the decisions arrived at.

"As the laws regulating the purchase, sale, and disposal of real property are common to all the subjects of my empire, it shall be lawful for foreigners to possess landed property in my dominions, conforming themselves to the laws and police regulations, and bearing the same charges as the native inhabitants, and after arrangements have been come to with foreign powers.*

* On the 18th of January, 1867, a law was passed granting to foreigners the right to hold real property in the Ottoman Empire, and on the 28th of July, 1868, a protocol was signed between the British and Turkish Governments relative to the admission of British subjects to the right of holding real property in Turkey.

"The taxes are to be levied under the same denomination from all the subjects of my empire, without distinction of class or religion. The most prompt and energetic means for remedying the abuses in collecting the taxes, and especially the tithes, shall be considered.

"The system of direct collections shall gradually, and as soon as possible, be substituted for the plan of farming, in all the branches of the revenues of state. As long as the present system remains in force, all agents of the government and all members of the medjlis shall be forbidden, under the severest penalties, to become lessees of any farming contracts which are announced for public competition, or to have any beneficial interest in carrying them out. The local taxes shall, as far as possible, be so imposed as not to affect the sources of production or to hinder the progress of internal commerce.

"Works of public utility shall receive a suitable endowment, part of which shall be raised from private and special taxes levied in the provvinces, which shall have the benefit of the advantages arising from the establishment of ways of communication by land and sea.

"A special law having been already passed, which declares that the budget of the revenues and the expenditure of the state shall be drawn up and made known every year, the said law shall be most scrupulously observed. Proceedings shall be taken for revising the emoluments attached to each office.

"The heads of each community and a delegate, designated by my Sublime Porte, shall be summoned to take part in the deliberations of the supreme council of justice on all occasions which might interest the generality of the subjects of my empire. They shall be summoned specially for this purpose by my Grand Vizier. The delegates shall hold office for one year; they shall be sworn on entering upon their duties. All the members of the council, at the ordinary and extraordinary meetings, shall freely give their opinions and their votes, and no one shall ever annoy them on this account.

"The laws against corruption, extortion or malversation shall apply, according to the legal forms, to all the subjects of my empire, whatever may be their class and the nature of their duties.

"Steps shall be taken for the formation of banks and other similar institutions, so as to effect a reform in the monetary and financial system, as well as to create funds to be employed in augmenting the sources of the material wealth of my empire. Steps shall also be taken for the formation

of roads and canals to increase the facilities of communication and increase the sources of the wealth of the country.

"Everything that can impede commerce or agriculture shall be abolished. To accomplish these objects, means shall be sought to profit by the science, the art, and the funds of Europe, and thus gradually to execute them.

"Such being my wishes and my commands, you, who are my Grand Vizier, will, according to custom, cause this imperial firman to be published in my capital and in all parts of my empire; and you will watch attentively and take all the necessary measures that all the orders which it contains be henceforth carried out with the most rigorous punctuality.

"10 DZEMAZIUL, 1272 (February 18, 1856)."*

During the remainder of the reign of Abd-ul-Medjid, and that of Abd-ul-Aziz (1861–1876), the condition of the Christians throughout the empire generally improved. Outbreaks were not wanting. There was the massacre of Maronites by the Druzes in 1860, and the intrigues of Russia resulted in the Bulgarian atrocities, which, in turn, resulted in the Russo-Turkish war and Bulgarian independence. For the most part, however, the situation was far better than it had been at any time. This, not merely in general prosperity, but in the relation between Christians and Moslems. Terms of reproach were heard less. There was greater freedom of worship and education, and it began to be possible for a Christian to secure some justice in the Turkish courts. Christians became numerous in administrative offices, and in the councils in the interior provinces. Taxation, while heavy, was less unevenly divided, and it became not unusual for a Christian to acquire property without attracting the notice of the Turkish authorities, and losing it all through the machinations of some jealous official. Appeals, also, were more frequently made to the higher courts,

* This document, as also the Hatti Sherif, has been taken from Van Dyck's report on the Capitulations of the Ottoman Empire, published at Washington, D. C., 1881.

and local magnates learned that there was a power higher than their own which they must respect. In this, the presence of the American Missionaries assisted greatly. While not interfering in the administration of the government, they frequently protested to the local governors against manifest injustice and assisted in the forwarding of complaints to Constantinople. The Patriarchs found cordial support at the hands of the foreign ambassadors, and not infrequently Turks looked on with envy, saying to the Armenians, "When an official treats you unjustly, you have some redress. You can send to your bishop and he to the Patriarch, and he can get the great Ambassador from Europe to support his plea. The result is, you get justice. We have nobody to go to. The official is one of us. He will forward no petitions, and we must simply accept his decision, whatever it may be."

This amelioration of their condition was assisted not a little by the political necessities of the times, and the fact that Abd-ul-Aziz was so absorbed with his plans for aggrandizement that he thought chiefly of using every means that came to his hand. He found the Christians very useful, and advanced them so that they became a great power in the land. Governors hesitated before they incurred their hostility, and they were able to do much for their fellow-subjects. This sort of prosperity, however, had its dangers. Intrigue increased on every hand, and the coming in contact with the new ideas of the West operated in some respects quite unfavorably (see chapter on the Armenians).

It must not be supposed, however, that there was no oppression. There was, and the suffering in many places was intense. It would have been impossible for even the most enlightened government to thoroughly carry out such radical

reforms as those of the Hatti Humayoun without great difficulty, and in Turkey this was greatly increased by the fact that they were bitterly opposed by the entire Moslem population. Turkish pashas, sheiks, beys, and aghas were not slow to see that their power was on the wane, and Turkish peasants realized that the Christians were outstripping them in many of the elements of prosperity. Officials thus used their power when they could, and Turkish citizens made their hostility manifest in the most unpleasant ways. The incursions of Kurds, Circassians, Lozes, and others were also frequent, and the suffering was intense in many places. Peace and prosperity had by no means come. Yet, on the whole, the situation of the Christians was far better when Abd-ul-Hamid II came to the throne in 1876, than it had been at any time since the establishment of the Ottoman dynasty.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Turkish Government.

True Moslem State Theocratic—Dual Form of the Present Government—The Sublime Porte—Army and Navy—Internal Administration—Financial Management—General Corruption—Administration of Justice—Treatment of Christians—The Ulema—The Palace Party—The Sultan.

THERE can be no proper understanding of the situation in Turkey without a knowledge of the peculiar character of the Turkish Government. That government is in reality dual in form. So far as the outside world is concerned it is on the basis of an absolute monarchy or despotism. The Sultan is the autocrat of his empire, but has under him a complete organization of departments conducted by the appropriate chiefs who form his cabinet. To the Moslem, however, the same government bears another aspect, and side by side with this organization that is apparent to the Western eye there is another, which to the true Turk takes precedence of it. The original Moslem State was distinctly theocratic in its nature, and its entire organization was based upon the idea that religion was the controlling element in the conduct of all affairs, national, municipal and family. Both forms, however, centre in the Sultan himself, and under the

peculiar conditions of his life there has grown up a third element, often distinct from and even antagonistic to the others—the palace element. Each one of these three play an important part in the affairs of the empire.

The Turkish Government as it stands before the world at large is organized like any other government. The Sultan is the supreme head; under him is the Council of Ministers, called Medjliss-i-Hass. This consists of the following members: the Grand Vizier, the Sheik-ul-Islam, and the Ministers of the Interior, of Foreign Affairs, of War, of Finance, of Marine, of Commerce, of Public Instruction and of Evkaf, together with the President of the Council of State and the Grand Master of Artillery. These different departments constitute what is known as the Sublime Porte, and are carried on in much the same way as the corresponding departments in this country or in any European country, and most of them require no special description. The Grand Vizier, as president of the Council, holds much the same power as the Premier in England. Theoretically he has the power to decide matters in any department on his own judgment, and his endorsement of an undertaking is almost sure to insure its success whether the rest of the Cabinet approve it or not. Of the other members there are only three whose office needs any special description. These are the Sheik-ul-Islam, the Minister of Evkaf and the Minister of Public Instruction.

The Sheik-ul-Islam is popularly supposed to be the head of the Moslem religion. This, however, is not true. He is merely the representative in this Council of the Moslem Hierarchy. Theoretically he is nominated by the Sultan with the approval of the Ulemas, or general body of Moslem

Doctors of Law. Practically he is the choice, as are the other members of the Council, of the Grand Vizier, who has the privilege usually of making up his own Cabinet, as has the English Premier. His membership in the Council is in most cases honorary rather than important. Only under rare instances does he come into position to exercise any positive influence upon affairs. On the occasion of the death of Sultan Abdul Aziz, the conspirators applied to the Ulema, who made a statement that the Sultan was not fit to govern, and as their mouthpiece the Sheik-ul-Islam issued a decree of *fetva*, which made his deposition lawful. So also when it became necessary politically to replace Murad by his brother Abdul Hamid, the Sheik-ul-Islam was called upon, and, agreeably to the influences brought to bear, issued the order. There have been similar instances at other times, but since the reorganization of the empire by Sultan Mahmud II the office has been as a rule honorary rather than practical.

The Minister of Public Instruction is a Cabinet Minister by virtue of the peculiar relations existing between the government and the Mosque schools, and the necessity, under a despotic government, of watching that nothing shall be taught in one school that shall antagonize what is taught in another, or be in the slightest degree derogatory to the general government. The important duty in regard to the schools connected with the Mosques, has to do not so much with the education itself as with the control of that very large portion of the revenues of the country which is applied to their support. Another department under the same head is that of the censorship. How important a department this is will be manifest later on, illustrations of it being given in the chapter on the condition of the empire in 1894. The countries

where this department occupies a somewhat parallel position are Russia, Austria and Spain, where the censorship is very rigid and the oversight by the government of all departments of instruction is very complete.

The Minister of Evkaf has duties entirely unlike those of any cabinet minister in European countries. They arise from the inevitable mingling of the two characteristics of the Turkish Government. The term *vakouf* is applied to property which in one form or another is directed to religious uses and generally indicates that belonging to the Mosques. It is acquired in two ways; the property of any man who dies intestate reverts under Turkish law not to the State itself, but to the nearest Mosque. In addition to this, if any man desires to secure special divine favor, such as is awarded particularly to the charitable, according to Moslem teaching, he may transfer during his lifetime or deed after his death any portion of his property to any particular Mosque. He, however, has the privilege of securing an annuity based upon this property to some member of his own family or some one whom he desires especially to favor. The result is that a very large amount, estimated at from one-third to one-half, of the real estate in the Turkish Empire is owned by the Mosques in this way; the income, however, not by any means being entirely under the control of the Mosques themselves. It is evident that the direction of this involves a very extended organization, and the elevation of it into a department whose head shall be in the Cabinet was perfectly natural. It will be easily seen that the style of questions arising in such a case is very varied. Where a person wishes to buy real estate the first thing he has to do is to find out whether it, or any portion of it, is *vakouf*. If so, he must, in making his

contract, bind himself to pay the regular tax directly to the Mosque or to the holder of the annuity. This can be done without great difficulty. But in case he should die and the property be divided according to law among his heirs, and one of those heirs should die, then the portion of that heir goes to the Mosque. Various methods have been devised to overcome such difficulties. Two are provided for by Turkish law: (1) A lump sum may be paid to the Mosque, securing complete quittal of all claims; (2) The purchaser may find some unencumbered property, and, by payment to its owners of a consideration, secure its acceptance by the Mosque in lieu of the property that he wishes.

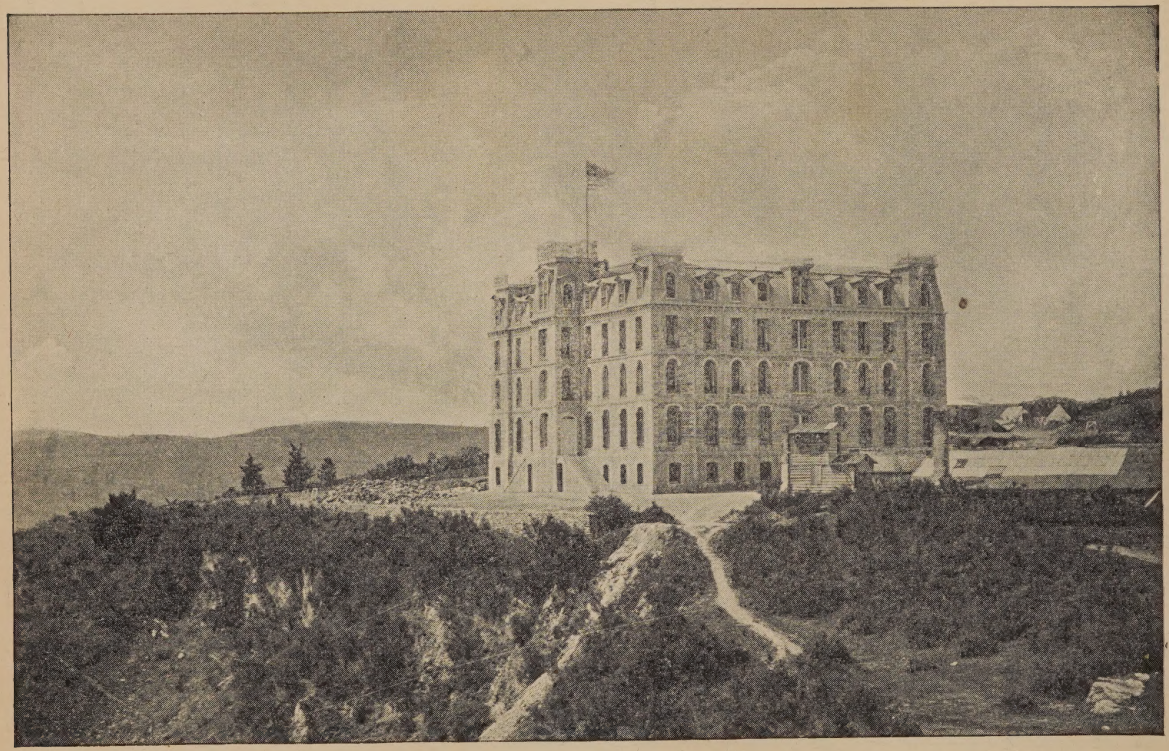
The military departments of the government are organized and officered very much as in other governments. The army is divided into the Nizam, or regular army; the Redif, or reserves, and the Mustahfiz, or veterans. Military service is compulsory on all able-bodied Mohammedans for six years in the regular army, eight years in the reserve, and six in the veteran service. There are, however, the following exceptions: (1) All Turks residing in Constantinople and its suburbs are released; (2) Those who are infirm, are the sole support of their families, or for any special reason may claim exception, are required to go through from six to nine months' drill in the regular battalion in the first year of their service, and thirty days' drill at their homes in every subsequent year, and are also liable on emergency to be called to join the regular army. Non-Moslems are prohibited from entering the military service, but instead pay an exemption tax, which is levied alike on males of all ages. The effect of this has been to create a heavy strain upon the Moslem population throughout the empire, while the Christians have found it to

their advantage to pay the tax rather than to endure the conscription. In the apportionment of the troops it has been the rule never to allow soldiers to serve in the districts near their homes. Thus the troops employed in the garrisons in the north are levied from among the Moslems of Syria and Mesopotamia, while those accustomed to the snows and high altitudes of Asia Minor are sent into the heated plains of the south. Whatever advantage might result from this separation from their homes is more than counterbalanced by the strain upon the physical constitution. The total effective force of the regular Turkish army in times of peace is estimated at about 150,000 men and 9,800 officers, divided into 264 battalions of infantry, 189 squadrons of cavalry, 104 batteries of field artillery, 36 batteries of mountain and 29 battalions of garrison artillery, 4 battalions of infantry train, 14 battalions of artificers, 3 battalions of fire brigade, 22 companies of engineers, 2 sanitary companies and 1 telegraph company. The total force that it is estimated might be put into the field under the present system is said to be about 800,000 men. The rank and file is of excellent material. There are no better soldiers in the world than the Turks. They are faithful, obedient, fearless, and accustomed to the utmost frugality of life. The same, however, cannot be said of the officers. There are brave, efficient men among them; but for the most part they show the same defects as other Turks in official position, and their weakness affects very seriously the whole army.

The Turkish navy is the laughing stock of all who know anything about it. In numbers it is strong, and probably, if it were kept in repair and sufficiently well manned, it might be available for warfare. As a matter of fact, its principal use

for the last few years has been to make annual trips from the inner harbor to the Bosporus and back again, in which trips it has to pass the two bridges that span the Golden Horn, and if it gets through without really damaging the bridges, it is matter of public comment and congratulation in the press. The present navy owes its origin to the ambition and extravagance of Sultan Abdul Aziz, who, having found that money was to be had in Europe for the asking, paid little attention to the conditions of the payment of interest, and borrowed right and left for the purpose of building palaces, public works of various kinds, and a navy. He had, however, to import engineers and officers; for seamen he relied in some degree upon Dalmatians, but they could not supply the demand, and he fell back upon the Turks. The Turks are as poor sailors as most Orientals, and as a matter of fact the fleet has been and is worth next to nothing for offensive or even for defensive purposes. The general collapse of the finances of the empire has made it difficult to pay the engineers; the ships have not been well cared for, and are practically of no account in estimating the strength of the nation. There are 15 armor-clad ships of considerable power, and 42 others, some of them of very little value. Its nominal strength is 6 vice-admirals, 11 rear admirals, 208 captains, 704 under officers, 30,000 sailors, and 9,460 marines.

The department which at present attracts most attention is that of the Interior. For administrative purposes the empire is divided into vilayets (provinces), which are subdivided into sanjaks or livas (governments or arrondissements), these again into kazas (counties), and these into nahies (communes). The governors of these divisions are styled Valis, or Walis, Mutessarifs, Kaimakams and Mudirs. The first two officers,



ROBERT COLLEGE, situated on the heights of Rumeli Hissar, about six miles up the Bosporus from the city of Constantinople. Just below is the place where Darius crossed the Bosporus and where Mohammed II. built his famous castles.

THE BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL IN SMYRNA. It is under the care of the American missionaries The students are of all nationalities, Armenian, Greek, English, and other Europeans. The house is a good illustration of the style of building. There are no chimneys, their place being taken by stovepipes, as seen in the picture.

who have the title of Pasha, and the third, are appointed by the Council of State at Constantinople, the fourth by the Valis. The last is generally some local magistrate; the others are usually from places at some distance from where they hold office. Their duties are both judicial and executive, and each is practically autocrat within his own jurisdiction, subject only to his immediate superior. There is a council connected with each of these offices, composed of prominent members of the different communities, Moslem and Christian, whose business it is to advise the governor in the many details of his office. The different communities have a loose organization called the medjliss, which meets on occasion to discuss local matters, and which is represented in a sort of council associated with the governor. The general character of the provincial government is largely dependent upon the Governor-General, or Vali. If he is a man who seeks to deal justly by the people, and who has a pretty firm hand, there is order and quiet, for the people are usually peaceable. If he is an avaricious man, that characteristic, always existent to a greater or less degree, pervades the whole administration, and the shrewdest politicians come out best. If he is easy-going, caring more for his comfort, or *kef*, his subordinates do much as they please, and that pleasure is, as a rule, to fleece the people to the best of their ability. Occasionally, though it must be said rarely, the governor is a man of marked brutality, and then woe betide any in city or country who for any reason incur his hostility. When it is remembered that appointments to provincial offices are seldom made with any reference to the welfare of the province, but usually as a matter of favor to some one who desires to recover wasted fortune, or whom revenge seeks to remove from Constantinople,

it will be readily seen that the chances are all in favor of poor rather than good government. Taking into account also the fact of the absolute autocracy of the governor, and the utter lack of supervision, the wonder is not that the provinces are governed so badly, but that they are not governed worse.

The financial management of the government is probably the worst in existence. Properly speaking, Turkey has no finance. There are revenues, but no regular way of collecting them. There are salaries, but no regular way of paying them. The result is chaos. From the Sultan down to the lowest grade in the public service it is a scramble for money, each one getting all he can and giving up as little as possible. Many of the revenues are mortgaged to pay the loans contracted, chiefly during the extravagant reign of Abdul Aziz, and are under the absolute control of a commission of foreigners. The tithes are farmed out to the highest bidders, who have the whole power of the government at their disposal to enable them to collect all they can, on the general principle of a division of any profits between the collectors and the authorities. Tax receipts are repeatedly refused, so that when subsequent collectors come they can take advantage of their absence to collect back taxes to the very limit of possibility. Enumerators for personal taxes make their lists small so as to lessen the amount for which they are held responsible, while in view of this they levy on the community as high as the community will give. Importers try to secure undervaluation of their goods, land-owners undervaluation of their land, peasants hide their grain, and men will often bear imprisonment, and even the severest beating, rather than reveal their deposits.

In case of special need at Constantinople, requisition is

made upon some province for a certain sum. Forthwith all the efforts of every member of the administration of that province are directed to two things: (1) to lessen if possible the amount demanded; (2) to secure for themselves a portion of the money that must be collected. Spies and informers abound on every hand, and exceptional harvests, fortunate investments, fat legacies, are made the pretexts of all sorts of pressure. Salaries are always in arrears for months, and sometimes years. The announcement that the treasury is to pay a month's salary to the clerks of the departments, or to the army and navy, is a matter of public comment and advertisements in the newspapers. But people must live. Hence bribery and extortion rule everywhere. Judges, officials of every grade, even heads of departments, rely for their support, not upon the government itself, but upon what influence they can exert on the lives and fortunes of others, and upon appropriating at least a little of what passes through their hands.

The general conduct of the various departments is thus inevitably the poorest. There is not the faintest pretense of civil service. All appointments go by favor, and, with rare exceptions, the amount of work accomplished is lamentably, even ludicrously, small. It is absolutely impossible to get anything done in any of the departments except by one of two means: constant pressure combined with the endorsement of a superior official, or the most unblushing bribery. Fees abound on every hand, and are given openly without any apparent idea that there is anything derogatory to the officials in taking them. In the Custom House there is a regular scale of fees; so much to the porter who takes things out of the lighter; so much to the inspector; so much to the

clerk, and so on from the bottom up. The inevitable result is that there is false swearing on every hand, and the dues supposed to be received seldom reach intact the treasuries of the government. When it comes to the question of securing concessions, the matter is still worse. Some ten years ago a small book, called "Minor Memoirs of Turkey," was published, full of curious details. Among them was a list of bribes received by dignitaries of the Ottoman Government; they included 75,000 Turkish pounds paid by a railway company to two secretaries, a chamberlain at the palace, a minister in the cabinet, etc. A tobacco monopoly company paid 12,000 pounds to various officials; the directors of a bank in Galata remitted 125,000 pounds as an agent for some enterprise. The court chamberlain received 60,000 pounds from Baron ———, through a certain effendi, for a concession. Whether these particular instances are absolutely correct or not, makes very little difference. It is perfectly notorious, and has been for years, that every concession of any kind for public works has to pass the gauntlet of bribes from the lowest official at the Sublime Porte to the palace itself. It is true that some enterprises are carried through without bribes, but they owe their success to personal favor. One who was well posted in Turkish Government dealings has said, that "strong as Baksheesh Pasha is, Khatir Pasha is still stronger." (Khatir is what is done out of courtesy. If a Turk is asked to do a thing as a personal favor, it lays a heavier obligation upon him than even the presentation of a bribe, if the personal relations are at all intimate.) To give in anything like full detail a description of the methods adopted in the different departments of the Turkish Government, would require several chapters of itself, and would reveal an amount of

trickery, deception and fraud which would be almost incredible. In the administration of justice there is a system of laws and of courts based upon the Napoleon code. There is a certain amount of regular law practiced. Here, however, the Moslem organization comes into such close relation with what we may call the European organization, that special reference is reserved for a later paragraph. The policing of the country is in the hands of the military, although the police force is a different organization from that of the regular army.

The personnel of the different departments is almost entirely Moslem, except where Turks are simply incapable of performing the duties. To Mahmud II must be given the credit of recognizing the superior ability of his Christian subjects, and of employing them in the various departments of the government. His practice was enlarged upon by Sultans Abdul Medjid and Abdul Aziz. When the present Sultan came to the throne, Armenians and Greeks were quite numerous as clerks in the various departments. Some rose to high position and were greatly honored. During the present reign, however, the number of these has been steadily diminishing, and their places have been taken by Turks. The Turk, not being well adapted to bureaucratic work, the general conduct of the empire has suffered proportionately. It is to be noted that the diplomatic service of the Turkish Empire is chiefly in the hands of the Greeks. There are few, if any, Armenians. In the local administrative service the Armenians outnumber the Greeks. The presence of these men in the service is referred to as indicative of the kindly feeling of the government for the Christian subjects. This does not by any means follow. Their presence is due, not to any favor on the part of the Sultân or his ministers, but to

the fact that they are absolutely essential for the efficient conduct of the government.

Turning now to the Moslem organization, we find that originally it was not dissimilar in form to the other. It is based, however, upon an entirely different idea. In it the Sultan is not an executive, but is the caliph; primarily the defender of the faith, and only incidentally the governor of the people. He has associated with him the different prefects, practically ministers, who are his subordinates, and yet autocrats each in his own department under his general authority. So far as relations to foreign governments are concerned, there is not so much of difference. In the conduct of home affairs the difference is very marked, especially in the Department of Justice. There the whole principle of judgment is based upon the Moslem law, including both the Koran and the traditions. Those traditions recognize as the fundamental principle of law the faith and declaration of belief in the unity of God. Every person who denies that is an idolater, and unworthy of position equal to that of the true Moslem. Thus no Christian testimony is available in a court of law, and in any difference between himself and a Moslem, his interest is entirely a secondary matter. The fact that the traditions were very inchoate and uncertain left an enormous amount of room for all kinds of legal quibbles. So long as the conduct of the courts was on this basis pure and simple, the absolute subordination of the Christians was very plain. They had no rights of any kind, and when, by virtue of a sort of rude justice, they occasionally were treated honorably, it was so much clear gain. When, however, the new organization was brought side by side with the old, and the Napoleon code was made of equal importance with the law of the Cheri, then

there was a constant strife as to which should get the better of the other, and between the two, even less of justice was done than was accomplished by the former, except where there were influences at work to compel, through diplomatic pressure, the granting of just dues.

An illustration will give an idea of the situation better than any general description. A foreigner purchased a house in an interior city of Turkey which had been offered for open sale by the government, which had sequestered it in lieu of taxes due from its owner, an Armenian. A thorough government title was given, and possession seemed absolutely sure. After a few years the original owner died, leaving a son who had not yet attained his majority. Meanwhile the foreigner had improved the property so much that it had doubled, perhaps tripled, in value. The son, on coming of age, wanted to get back his ancestral property, and applied to the courts, claiming that the original seizure by the government was unjust, inasmuch as according to the Moslem law the rights of a minor could not be prejudiced by the debts of the father. The thing was brought before the local cadi, and for a consideration he decided in favor of the young man, and the foreigner was immediately ordered to leave. There had been no opportunity for his case to be presented; simply the instructions came from the courts that he was to withdraw, and a platoon of soldiers was sent to enforce the order. Being a foreigner, however, he had the right to refuse entrance to the Turkish troops, and the matter was referred to Constantinople. There it was brought before the regular court, and the representatives of the foreigner said, "If the man has been defrauded, why, that is not our business. The government gave us a good title and took our money; we have improved

the property. Now, if the house belongs to this young man, we shall bring suit against the government for the money paid, the interest paid upon that money, and for the value of the improvements." They utterly refused to go into the question of the original sequestration. This put the government in a difficult position. They were entirely unwilling to pay the money, and at the same time there was the decision of their courts. So an experienced Moslem jurist was called in, and he found that by some other precept of Moslem law the minor had lost his rights through not having presented his claim on a certain date. The result of the whole thing was that the property remained in the hands of the foreigner.

Two other points deserve special mention: the position of Christians in the courts, and the general relation of the government as a protector. According to the true Moslem position, as stated above, no infidel (and all non-Moslems are infidels) has any standing before the law. His word is of no value, and his testimony is worthless in comparison with that of the true believer. Under the general reforms inaugurated by Sultan Mahmud and carried on by his successor, this was changed in theory, and, by the Hatti Humayoun, the Christian's witness was accepted on a par with that of the Moslem. Had the new code been the only one in force, or had it been possible to institute courts all over the country, it would have been comparatively easy to accomplish the change; but the continuance of the old system throughout the rural districts, and in many matters, notably real estate transfers in the cities, occasioned great confusion, which worked constantly to delay and hamper the development of the Christians. As a matter of fact, the local courts throughout the empire, in mat-

ters affecting Moslems and Christians, have been and still are conducted on the general basis of the distinctively Moslem law, and not on that of the Napoleon code.

The same thing is true of the general relations of the Christians to the government in all matters regarding his protection. The old formula was, "Islam, tribute, or the sword," with an at least implied pledge of protection for those who accepted the tribute. This was assured to the Christians by various edicts, notably the Hatti Humayoun. Yet repeatedly it has been manifest that the old Moslem law is practically in force, according to which the moment a Christian becomes in any way an element of uneasiness in the community, or of hostility to the government, he may be suppressed. A doctor of Moslem law, when questioned on this point, frankly acknowledged the truth of the statement, and went on to say that even if the Christian had done nothing, he might be incited to some overt act which would give a pretext for suppressing him. This fact throws a flood of light on the claim of the Turkish Government that it has been suppressing rebellion.

This distinctively Moslem idea is represented in the actual government of Turkey in many ways. The Sheik-ul-Islam is its formal representative in the cabinet, but it has absolute control over the Board of Censors, in the Department of Public Instruction, as will be seen in the chapter on the situation in 1894. It is also dominant in the Department of Evkaf, and practically, though not theoretically so, in the Department of Justice. In the interior provinces, however, with rare exceptions, it rules everywhere. The exponents are chiefly the cadis in the villages and towns, who look with marked disfavor on the new-fangled judges who have usurped their

privileges, and who strive by every means to arrest their supremacy. In close sympathy with them are the Moslem priests, especially the Ulema, or Doctors of Moslem law, the Softas, or students of law. All of these are bitterly opposed to the introduction of what they consider the infidel code, and do not scruple to do all in their power to make it of no effect. When their numbers and their wide distribution are taken into account, it will be readily seen that while the paraphernalia of the Turkish Government is to all appearances in accord with modern and European ideas, there is an influence not so visible, but very powerful, which renders it of extremely little value in the actual conduct of the affairs of the empire.

No one can live in Constantinople for any length of time, least of all have much dealing with the government, without learning the meaning of the term, "The Palace." Theoretically it means the Sultan, with his environments of police officials and attendants; practically it means in most cases those officials themselves, the Sultan being considered apart. Those officials include the officers of the palace, the chamberlain, chief eunuch and private secretaries. There is also the introducer of ambassadors; and aside from these there is generally a small coterie of men in whom the Sultan has personal confidence. They hold no definite official position, but live near the palace and are summoned at any time that the Sultan desires their counsel. In addition to these there is usually a small company of ecclesiastics or of Dervishes, who have varying influence with the Sultan. The power of these different officials varies greatly at different times, and also as one subject or another comes up. Under some previous reigns, when the personal comfort of the Sultan was pre-

dominant in his plans, the chief eunuch was often practically the ruler of the empire. It was said that he had considerable influence in the reign of Abdul Aziz. Under the present Sultan it is generally understood that he is purely a palace official, with no relation to outside matters. The introducer of ambassadors is generally a man personally agreeable to the Sultan, and who, by virtue of his acquaintance with the different representatives of the foreign governments, is able, in quiet, unofficial ways, to exert considerable influence. One man who has for a long time been quite prominent is the well-known General Osman Pasha. His heroic defense of Plevna made him quite a hero in Turkish eyes, and his influence in many things has been quite noticeable. With regard to the Dervishes, it is difficult to speak with any degree of certainty. They are men gathered from different parts of the empire, who for one reason or another, perhaps personal, perhaps due to the locality from which they came, have made themselves agreeable to the Sultan or have made themselves useful. In general they represent to him the distinctively Moslem feeling of his empire and of the general Moslem world. There have been many reports as to their overpowering influence, and names have been given of one and another who seemed to dominate the Sultan absolutely. These reports must be taken with large allowance. While undoubtedly they have manifested considerable power on different occasions, it may be questioned whether that power has been at any time prominent or predominant, whether they have not more often been the tools of the Sultan rather than his masters.

One other department should be mentioned, the Council of State or Privy Council. This is a large body, made up

of most of those who have been prominent in public affairs. They may have been members of the Cabinet or not. Their duties are advisory rather than official. The only one among them having a definite position is the president, who is also a member of the Porte or Cabinet. In ordinary times they do not appear before the public to any great degree. On some occasions, however, they form a very influential element in the management of affairs. Reference has been also made to the Ulema. Of these there is no definite organization. It is a general body including the prominent instructors in Moslem law connected with the different Mosques. They appear in the regular government only in the person of the Sheik-ul-Islam, who is a member of the Cabinet or Sublime Porte.

Dominating all these departments is the Sultan himself. His word is law, and no official order of the Porte, the Council of State, or connected with the Palace, can stand against his personal displeasure. At the same time, as in all autocratic governments, he is by no means an absolutely independent ruler. He is compelled by force of circumstances to recognize the very diverse interests about him; to realize that he must on the one hand keep on good terms with the nations of Europe, and not less carefully guard against offending those who have a great hold upon his Moslem subjects, and who may influence very seriously his position as Caliph of the Moslem world. It is thus that the personality of the Sultan is, after all, the most important element in the Turkish Government. In cases like the Conqueror of Constantinople, Mahmud II, and others, that influence is positive; in the case of others it is negative, and the positive influence has rested with one or another branch of the government. Under the present reign the positive influence of the Sultan

himself is a most important factor, recognized as such by all who have come into personal contact with him. And no one who has followed the course of his reign can fail to recognize the great degree to which Abdul Hamid III has impressed his individuality upon the Turkish Government.

CHAPTER XVII.

Protestant Missions in Turkey.

Early History—Opposition of Ecclesiastics in the Oriental Churches—Attitude of the Turkish Government—Work Among Moslems—Development of Education—Societies at Work—The American Board—Presbyterian Boards—American and British Bible Societies—English Societies—General Statistics—Relations to the Turkish Government—Character of the Missionaries.

NO statement of Turkey is complete without an account of the rise and development of Protestant mission work. The first effort of this kind in modern times was put forth by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Soon after its organization in 1804 colporteurs were sent inland from Smyrna, and subsequent missionaries found to a considerable degree traces of their work. There was also an attempt on the part of English societies to reach the country from Malta, but there was no organized effort until that of the missionaries of the American Board, at that time representing the Congregational, Presbyterian and Reformed Churches of the United States. In 1819 two missionaries left Boston appointed to work in Palestine. They stopped at Malta and conferred with the representatives of the Church Missionary and London Missionary Societies of England, and then went to Smyrna. It did not take long for them to realize that there was little opportunity for successful work in the vicinity of Jerusalem, and they turned their attention to the Oriental Churches with which they came in contact. They were joined during the following years by a number of others, and aside

from Smyrna there were stations occupied at Beirut and at Constantinople; this last in 1832.

Without entering into any detailed account of the occupation of the different cities by individual missionaries, a general statement as to their relations to the different races and religions and the progress of their influence among them will furnish what is most essential for the present purpose. This may be done under two heads; the Oriental Churches, and Moslems. The work among the Jews has been carried on to a limited degree chiefly by Scotch Presbyterians and members of the Church of England, but it has not been of such general success as to materially affect the empire. Other work has entered into the development of the empire in a most noticeable degree.

We take up first work among the Oriental Churches. These include the Armenian, Greek, Bulgarian, Jacobite, Nestorian, Chaldean and Maronite. For the general statement of these see a preceding chapter. It is sufficient here to speak of the relations that Protestant missions have held towards them all. The first missionaries entered upon their work with no thought whatever of proselyting. They recognized the essential Christian character of the churches, and their object was to set before them not a new creed or a different form of church government, but simply a higher conception of what constituted Christian life. They found almost absolute ignorance of the Bible; complete domination by an ignorant and superstitious hierarchy, and a general feeling that their church life was so thoroughly identified with national life that to leave the church was to leave the nation, and that every heretic was also a traitor. Combined with all of these was the peculiar civil organization by which the ecclesiastics

were the practical rulers in every community and were enabled to exercise a pressure, the extent and severity of which it is almost impossible for us to understand at this time. Excommunication from the church meant far more than ecclesiastical disability; it involved the absolute loss of any civil status. An Armenian or a Greek who incurred the hostility of his bishop and was placed under the ban had no rights that any one was bound to respect. He could neither be baptized nor be buried; he could neither marry nor purchase; no baker would furnish him with bread and no butcher with meat; no one would employ him and no court recognized his existence so as to give him the most ordinary protection.

The full extent of this situation did not appear at first. The early missionaries sought merely to explain the Bible doctrine of a purer, truer life dependent upon the atoning work of Christ. As always, they met with some who seemed to be looking for just such truth, and not a few welcomed very gladly the teaching. The moment this became apparent, however, the priests began to realize that their power was in danger. Undoubtedly in some cases their hostility was perfectly sincere. They really thought that it was dangerous for these people to read the Bible for themselves. Fortified by the traditions and education of centuries they felt that the complete acceptance of certain formulas was absolutely essential to eternal life. There were others, however, who feared far more the loss of political influence. There was just beginning to dawn upon Western Asia the light of European civilization. Its influence was felt on every hand, as yet very vaguely in most cases, but perhaps all the more forcibly. The Greeks and Armenians had been trained to look upon the Western churches as heretics or at least schismatics.

CIRCASSIAN OFFICER IN THE SULTAN'S ARMY. After the defeat of Schamyl, the famous Circassian leader, multitudes of his people came into Turkey and spread over the whole of Asia Minor. They are powerful, fearless men, and committed widespread depredations among the villages. They are bolder than the Kurds and much braver; are all bigoted Moslems.

SLAUGHTER OF ARMENIANS AT SASSUN. This is a fair illustration of the slaughter of innocents that the bloody Kurds and infuriated soldiers have visited upon the unarmed and unoffending Armenians, resulting in the murder of some 50,000 or more, and through pillage and fire rendering homeless and destitute hundreds of thousands.

The remembrance of the strife that preceded the final break between the Roman Catholic and the Greek Churches has been handed down until the bitterness of hostility which rules is scarcely conceivable. The predominant feeling was that whatever of weakness or of poverty there was, was due entirely to the tyranny of the Turkish Government which had held them in thrall for nearly four centuries. They saw that government perceptibly changing. Mahmud II was manifestly recognizing that old-time methods were incompatible with the changing situation, and was introducing customs which to the traditional Turk savored of revolution if not of denial of the faith.

The ecclesiastics of the Christian churches in a certain dim way probably thought that if at this time they could hold their own positively, and even aggressively, there would come to them a share of the improvement all expected in the future. It is therefore from every standpoint scarcely surprising that they failed to recognize the true character of the work commenced among them by these representatives of a, to them, despised church. The strife that followed was exceedingly bitter. On the one hand there was the all-engrossing power of the hierarchy, on the other the irresistible force which the reception of new ideas in an old established community always betrays. Persecution merely fanned the flame of eager desire to learn what it was that so aroused the ire of the priests, whose power indeed had been recognized, but who, in the degenerate condition of the church, had largely lost their personal influence over the people. Man after man, women even, came, openly at times, usually secretly, to the homes of missionaries, not themselves with any thought of leaving the old church, simply anxious to understand more

perfectly what they had been taught from childhood. Over both, watching with a curious and somewhat nonchalant eye, was the Turkish Government. It cared not a straw what particular form of worship the "infidel dogs" preferred. On the whole its officers were rather pleased at the newly offered opportunity for carrying out their traditional policy of ruling through the disunion of either their subjects, their allies, or their enemies.

It was not long before matters came to a crisis. The priests issued their bulls of excommunication and those thus excommunicated naturally came to the missionaries for assistance. They were indeed in a pitiable condition, some of them persons of wealth and education, all of intellectual ability, and keenly sensitive to the charges brought against them. Common humanity compelled the missionaries to interest themselves in their welfare, and they appealed to the representatives of the Protestant Powers at Constantinople. They in turn carried the matter before the Turkish Government, and the Turkish Government in its semi-lordly, semi-contemptuous way, reached out a hand of protection to the unfortunate objects of ecclesiastical persecution. They granted a quasi-civil organization to these Evangelical or Protestant Armenians, as they were called, and recognized them as a distinct body, notwithstanding the bitter opposition of the Armenian and Greek Patriarchs. They, however took care not to give this new body so much of power, or rather so much of prestige, as to materially affect the standing of the older communities. They used it as a foil to ward off dangers which they conceived might come rather than as a means of doing justice to a portion of their subjects. One instance will furnish an illustration of the situation. One of the honored members of

the Evangelical community died. The question arose where he should be buried. To bury him in the regular Armenian burying-ground, consecrated by the bishops, was out of the question. The Turkish Government granted a separate plot, but the Armenians were bound that he should not be buried at all. Every effort was made to preserve secrecy. The time of the service became known and a great mob collected. The Turkish Government was appealed to and the military was drawn out. And this simple Evangelical Armenian was buried amid a pomp of military display and a manifestation of racial and ecclesiastical hatred which was a fit symbol of the conflict that was to signalize the whole century.

If special description is given of the work among the Armenians, it is merely because they attracted the most of public attention. There were missionaries who sought to reach the Greeks, but their efforts met with very little of success. Their national and ecclesiastical pride was too strong, and their nearer relations to Western life made the new teaching appear less attractive than to those to whom it was in great degree a revelation. In Syria also a work had been commenced, chiefly among the Maronites of Mount Lebanon, and carried to a great degree of success, so also among the Nestorians and Jacobites of Eastern Turkey and the mountains along the Persian border. It was among the Armenians, however, that the greatest efforts were put forth and the greatest success achieved. The general methods of work were the same with all and whatever was done for one race was done with varying degrees of success for all the Christian peoples of the empire.

Of work among the Moslems there has been very little. Various attempts have been made to reach them with special

work, but aside from the experiments of the Reformed Church in America at Busrah and the Free Church of Scotland at Sheikh Othman in Arabia, all have failed. There have been several converts from Mohammedanism in different parts of the empire, especially in Egypt, but no general movement. Large numbers of Bibles in Turkish and Arabic are bought by Moslems and it is evident that there are a number who would accept Christianity, but for the fact that the penalty is absolute loss of property, if not of life. So long as the Turkish Government holds absolute power it cannot be expected that much impression will be made on the Moslem population.

Within twenty-five years after the establishment of the work at Constantinople, the mission influences had spread throughout the empire. There were missionaries at Trebizond, Erzrum, Diabekir, Aintab, Brusa and Sivas. There were also smaller communities in the different villages within reach of these central stations and the Evangelicals or Protestant Armenians had come to be recognized on every hand as a power in the land. With the practical victory of Turkey and her allies over Russia and the promulgation of the treaty of Paris referred to above, there came increasing demand upon the Christian powers for recognition and protection of those who accepted the Evangelical ideas and forms. The Hatti Humayoun was issued, the charter of religious liberty. With this commenced in a certain sense a new phase of missionary work. Hitherto it had been almost entirely evangelistic. The effort had been to reach the consciences of the people and set before them the Gospel demand for a pure and true life. There was comparatively little of general education. With the growth, however, of the communities and the

recognition of the fact that a community life was before them such as had neither been expected nor planned, it became evident to all that emphasis must be placed upon those same principles of community development which had done so much for England and America. It was not sufficient to put the Bible into men's hands nor to develop within them the idea of their relation to God. They must learn to interpret the Bible and apply it to their daily life; must learn the principles that governed social and civil organizations. Hence education in its broader sense became essential.

Education in the primary sense had always been carried on by the missionaries. A certain amount was needed in order to enable the people to read, for there was widespread ignorance in that respect. It was essential in some degree for those who were under training to be the spiritual guides of their people. Now it became evident that something more was necessary. At first there was considerable difference of opinion. Many of the missionaries themselves felt that they were simply heralds of spiritual truth. They could not admit that they had anything to do with secular education. Others realized that secular education has a fundamentally important place in the development of national life; that it is essential that that should be under religious influence if the general life is to be in accord with true religious development. Moreover the demand for this was increasing. Young men of intellectual attainments sought instruction. They found opening before them a constantly widening sphere of thought and of investigation which they must enter. They would rather enter it under the lead of Christian thought, but enter it they would, and if the missionaries refused their counsel they would go to what were then almost purely infidel schools in Europe.

Thus there was started, in minor form at first, afterwards more fully developed, a system of education that has grown until, taking into consideration the obstacles and perplexities attending it, it is surpassed in its widespread and high influence by no educational system even in far more favored lands.

As in regard to the spread of the Evangelistic work, so here it is not the purpose to describe in detail the growth of this school system. It is sufficient to say that five years later, in 1861, Robert College was started on the shores of the Bosporus by one who had been from the very beginning an earnest supporter of the idea that evangelism and education must go hand in hand if there is to be any Christian national life. He had had experience in the work of training preachers, and he realized that preachers need preparatory instruction. The story of the years during which he battled the influence of Armenian and Greek priests, of Papal representatives, and even of French and Russian ambassadors, is one of the most interesting on record. Robert College was followed within two years by the Syrian Protestant College of Beirut. Then commenced the development of the primary, intermediate and higher schools that had already been formed throughout the empire into larger institutions, until there are to-day in the Turkish Empire seven colleges all under Christian influence, though not all directly connected with missionary enterprise. There are also hospitals, orphanages and a variety of institutions which owe their inception to the influence of the missions, even in cases where they are entirely under native control.

A general survey of missions in the Turkish Empire at the present time shows that there are the following societies at work:

From this country there are the American Board, representing the Congregational Churches; the Boards of Missions of the Presbyterian Church (North), the United Presbyterian Church, the Reformed Presbyterian Church (Covenanter), and the Reformed (Dutch) Church; the Foreign Christian Missionary Society of the Disciples of Christ; the American Bible Society, and several independent workers connected with other organizations. There are also a number of English societies; the Church Missionary Society, the Presbyterian Board of Ireland, the Free and Established Churches of Scotland, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and several societies for special work among the Jews. The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church has work in Bulgaria, which, however, hardly comes under review as a part of the Turkish Empire.

Of all these the largest work is that done by the American Board. It covers the whole of Asia Minor and Eastern Turkey together with Macedonia and a portion of Bulgaria. The latest statistics show that there are 176 American missionaries, including 56 ordained ministers and 68 unmarried women, most of them engaged in teaching. There are also 869 native laborers, including 100 ordained ministers and 128 other preachers, the remainder being chiefly teachers. They occupy 19 principal stations and have work in 306 important out-stations. (The term out-station is given to a town or city where there are preaching services and educational work and sometimes a missionary resident, but not the full organization of a mission station.) These are all divided into four missions, called: The European Turkey Mission, covering Macedonia and Bulgaria; the Western Turkey Mission, covering Western Asia Minor; the Eastern Turkey Mission, covering

Eastern Turkey; and the Central Turkey Mission, covering Northern Syria south of the Taurus Mountains. Constantinople is the general headquarters for all four missions, and has a large staff of missionaries engaged in the general conduct of the work, the preparation of literature and evangelistic work to a limited degree. The important stations aside from this are as follows: In the European Turkey Mission, Samakov and Philippopolis in Bulgaria, and Salonica and Monastir in Macedonia; Western Turkey Mission: Brusa, Smyrna, Marsovan, Cesarea, Sivas and Trebizond, this last being associated with this mission because of easy access by sea; Eastern Turkey Mission: Erzrum, Harput, Bitlis, Van and Mardin; Central Turkey Mission: Aintab, Marash, Adana and Hajin. Aside from these there are many important cities occupied, such as Nicomedia, on the gulf of that name; Angora, Yuzgat, Amasia, Tokat, in Western Turkey; Arabkir, Malatia, Palu, Diarbekir, in Eastern Turkey; Urfa, Birejik, Albistan and Tarsus, in Central Turkey. The city of Aleppo, just south of Aintab, has been occupied at times by the American Board, but the language being Arabic, association with the work at Aintab has been somewhat difficult, and hence it has not been developed.

In all of this great field the chief work has been carried on in Europe among the Bulgarians, and in Asia among the Armenians, though from the city of Mardin considerable work has been done among the Jacobites of Northern Mesopotamia. The result of this work is seen in the following statements:

In European Turkey the number of places for stated preaching is 42; the average congregations number 2,278; the number of organized churches is 14, and of church members

952, while 2,713 are ordinarily classed as belonging to the Evangelical community. There is one theological school with 8 students; one training school for boys with 65 students; two boarding schools for girls with 92 pupils, while there are 17 common schools with 450 pupils. In this field the Bulgarian Government has established an excellent system of schools, so that the missionaries have not been compelled to do as much work in that line. There are also a large number of Bulgarian students in Robert College at Constantinople. In Western Turkey the result of these years shows 122 places for stated preaching, with average congregations of 10,336; 35 organized churches with a membership of 3,604 and a Protestant community numbering over 14,000. There is a theological seminary with 6 pupils; schools for higher education with 528 boys and 686 girls, while there are 122 common schools with a membership of 5,027. These figures do not include Robert College at Constantinople, which is on an entirely independent basis, and has a staff of 21 professors and instructors and about 200 students. They do, however, include the American College for Girls in Constantinople with its 23 teachers and 161 pupils. In Eastern Turkey there are 111 places for stated preaching, with average congregations of 11,639; 42 churches with a membership of 3,107 and a Protestant community of nearly 17,000. The two theological classes have been seriously broken up by the disturbances, but only a short time ago had 11 members. There are 364 boys and 220 girls in schools for higher education, and 6,232 pupils in the 130 common schools. In Central Turkey there are 52 places for stated preaching with an average congregation of over 10,000; 34 churches with a membership of 5,124, a Protestant community of 15,374, a

theological class of 9 students, and the pupils in the schools for higher education number 321 boys and 300 girls; while in the 98 common schools there are 4,326 pupils. These statistics, however, give but a very partial conception of the work done. As has already been intimated, the schools established by the missionaries have been in many cases duplicated by the Gregorian Armenians themselves, and the influences that have gone forth from these preaching places have been most effective in raising the general tone of community life throughout the empire. In many places the preaching in the Gregorian churches is of a most thoroughly evangelical type. There are Bible classes formed in many places and the general spiritual as well as moral effect of the mission work is by no means to be gauged by the figures of statistics.

One of the most important branches of work carried on by the American Board is that of furnishing literature for the people. There are conducted in Constantinople four weeklies and four monthlies, in the Bulgarian, Armenian and Turkish languages, there being two Turkish papers, one printed in Armenian characters for those Armenians who use chiefly the Turkish language, and one in Greek characters for the Greeks who also use the Turkish language. Aside from these there are school books and books of general character, predominantly religious, though also scientific and literary, issued by the committee of the mission from the Bible House in Constantinople. There is also not a little medical work carried on. There are medical missionaries in several of the interior stations, especially Cesarea, Van and Mardin. The fact that a large number of Armenians have studied medicine in this country and have returned has

lessened the demand for American medical missionaries. At Aintab there is a hospital under the care of Americans connected with the Aintab College, but not under the immediate control of the mission.

The Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church (North) occupies Syria and Mesopotamia. In Syria there are 14 ordained missionaries, 2 medical missionaries, including one woman, and 9 unmarried lady missionaries, making the total American force 39. There are 6 native pastors, 26 organized churches with a membership of 2,048. In the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut, which is in harmony with, though not under the direct control of the mission, there are 266 pupils; there are also boarding schools for boys with 213 pupils and for girls with 270 pupils; 8 high schools with 478 pupils, and 130 common schools with 6,387 pupils. The stations occupied are Beirut, Abieh on Mount Lebanon, Tripoli and Sidon on the seacoast, and Zahleh on the eastern coast of Mount Lebanon. The work of this mission has been chiefly among the Maronites, though to some degree among the other races. The influence of the mission, however, is by no means to be measured by its size. It was here in Beirut that the Arabic version of the Scriptures was prepared, the foundation being laid by Dr. Eli Smith, and the completion being under the guidance of Dr. C. V. A. Van Dyck, both men famous as among the finest orientalists in the world. The version prepared by them is unsurpassed by versions of the Bible anywhere, and has perhaps the widest use of any except the English. It is in the vernacular not only of Syria and Arabia, but of Northern and Central Africa; is used with facility in India, China and Malaysia, and everywhere where the Arabic language has spread. Its influence for good can-

not be measured. The same should be said of the college, with its medical as well as academical department. Its graduates are found all over the East.

The Mesopotamia mission of this Board has its headquarters at Mosul. This was formerly occupied by the American Board, but because of its close connection with the Western Persia mission of the Presbyterian Board it was passed over to that Board. The work is chiefly among the Nestorians of the mountains and to a degree among the Jacobites and Chaldeans of the city itself. It has schools for boys and girls fully attended in the city itself, and Syriac village schools in the field. During the past year (1895), owing to the disturbance in the mountains, there has been much difficulty in securing full attendance.

The mission of the United Presbyterian Board of this country is located in Egypt and shows a very marked degree of success. The principal stations occupied are Alexandria, Cairo, Mansurieh, Fayum and Osiut. At the latter place there is a large and successful college with a department for girls. The work of the mission is among the Copts, though, there has been something accomplished among the Moslems.

The mission of the Reformed Presbyterian (Covenanter) Church is located in Northern Syria and occupies the stations of Latakia and Mersine. There are six missionaries in the different stations, including two physicians. Their work is chiefly educational among the Nusairyieh, the evangelistic work among that class of people being extremely difficult.

The Board of Missions of the Reformed (Dutch) Church is carrying on an interesting work in Arabia. It was started as an independent enterprise, but more lately has been taken up by the Board. Its headquarters are at Busrah on the Persian

Gulf, but it extends all along the coast, working solely among the Arabs. The mission staff is still very small, and the establishment of schools has not yet been effected.

The Disciples of Christ have a few missionaries, all Armenians who have become naturalized Americans, in Constantinople and vicinity, and at some stations in the interior. The same is true of some Baptist work carried on chiefly by the same class of workers and supported by independent organizations in this country.

The work of the American Bible Society covers the whole empire. There are two agents resident in Constantinople with sub-agents in Beirut and Alexandria. A large staff of colporteurs is employed, numbering during the past year over 100, some of them directly under the control of the agency, others under the supervision of missions and assisted by the agency. The agency does most of its own publishing, including printing and binding, in the Bible House at Constantinople and at the mission press of the Presbyterian Board in Beirut. The languages are: Turkish in the Arabic, Armenian and Greek characters; Armenian both ancient and modern, Bulgarian, Kurdish and Arabic. It also purchases Scriptures in other languages from the British and Foreign Bible Society, which has an agency also in the same places. The total distributions during the year 1894 from the depots at Constantinople and Beirut, were 52,895 in 32 different languages and dialects, including most of the European as well as the different Oriental languages. Of this total 8,674 were Bibles, 13,826 New Testaments and 30,395 were portions. By the direct agency of the society through the colporteurs and in their depots, the total distribution was 31,678, while 21,107 were through correspondents, the largest number

being in Egypt, 14,258. It is interesting to note that of the sales from the Syrian depot 6 Bibles went to Zanzibar on the west coast of Africa, and 51 Bibles and 500 Testaments to Tangiers in Africa. The total issues for 37 years amounted to 1,376,798, and of the distribution for the past year it is estimated that 12,000 at least went to non-Christian nationalities.

Of the English societies, the Church Missionary Society of England occupies a few stations in Syria and Palestine, the principal ones being Jerusalem, Jaffa, Gaza and Nablus. There are also a number of out-stations. The missionaries number 11 ordained clergy, 4 lay workers and 20 women. The native clergy number 9 ordained and 71 lay workers. The total number of communicants is about 500. There are also 42 schools; seminaries with 1,752 students. Medical work is carried on to a considerable extent, there being 284 in-patients and 32,810 out-patients under the care of the physicians. The work is among Jews and also among the Maronites. There is more work accomplished by this society than by others among the Moslems.

The Scotch missions have stations at Constantinople, Smyrna and different points in Syria and Palestine. Their work is chiefly educational and almost entirely confined to the Jews. There are some very fine schools in Syria carried on under different organizations, English and Scotch, intended primarily for the education of girls. They have accomplished an excellent work.

The British and Foreign Bible Society conducts its work on much the same general plan as the American Bible Society, but confines its efforts more to the coast. Its chief work is in Bulgaria, among the Greek islands and along the

Aegean coast of Asia Minor. It has also agencies in Syria and Egypt. Arrangements are made between the two Bible societies so that they shall not crowd or interfere with each other. The Turkish agency reports a circulation of 31,548; the Egypt agency of 15,191; Syria and Palestine 4,741, making a total of 51,480, which with the circulation of the American Bible Society makes a grand total of about 104,000 copies.

This survey of missions in the Turkish Empire is necessarily very meagre. To go into it in full would require far more space than can be given. If fuller details are given with regard to the American Board it is simply because that Board occupies the territory which is more especially under notice at this time.

The question is frequently asked, What are the relations between the missionaries and the Turkish Government? Repeatedly the statement is made by that government that the influence of the missionaries is antagonistic, disturbing, and that they are the enemies of the present rule. This is in no sense true. American missionaries have invariably ranked themselves on the side of law. They have taken the position that the Turkish Government is the government of the land and its laws must be obeyed. If those laws are oppressive they will do their best to secure a change, but so long as the law is law it must be obeyed. In all the various attempts to stir up revolutionary feelings among the people, they have opposed with all their influence such movements. It is undoubtedly the fact that the general result of their instruction by stirring intellectual development, has been to make men restive under oppression. Undoubtedly their preaching has created an intense desire for true religious liberty. Undoubtedly they have brought light into the empire,

and light is always a disturbing element where there is corruption; it creates fermentation, and such fermentation as is not pleasant to oppressors. As has already been indicated, they have found some of their most bitter opponents among the clergy of the Christian Churches, even more bitter than the Turkish rulers themselves. But as the better class of that clergy have come to recognize the value of their instruction and their preaching, so the better class of Turkish officials have realized that there are no more loyal subjects, no more honest citizens than those who are under the guidance of the American missionaries. Wherever their course has been objected to their objectors have been men who sought to cover up their evil deeds and hide from the world the story of their outrageous conduct.

Individually there is no question but that the missionaries represent the very highest grade of ability and personal character. The record of their achievements in literature, in research, in education, is not surpassed by that of any other class of men or women in the world. Ambassadors, and travelers of high character, who have come among them, have uniformly borne testimony to their nobility, and the high position that they deservedly hold in the world. Not infrequently the diplomatic representatives of this country and England have come to their post at Constantinople with the feeling that these missionaries were a set of honest fanatics, well intentioned, but incapable of judging accurately and wisely as to the work which they were to do. In not one single case has any such man returned from his post, without putting on record his high estimate of these men and women. Whether it be Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, Lord Dufferin or Sir Philip Currie from England, Admiral Porter, General Williams, E. Joy

Morris, Gen. Lew. Wallace or Oscar Straus, from America, their testimony has been one of unvarying praise for the conduct of the mission work, and those who have had longest experience have been slow to condemn, even where their judgment could not coincide with that of the missionaries. Such remarks as have been made by occasional travelers, who have seen only the outskirts of mission work, to the effect that they are a "bad lot;" that they are well meaning, but ignorant enthusiasts, have simply served to rank those who uttered them with the class of people who talk about what they know nothing of. The words of Sir Philip Currie, uttered in private conversation in connection with the recent events in Turkey, will stand as a perpetual refutal of any such charges. He said:

"The one bright spot in all the darkness that has covered Asiatic Turkey, has been the heroism, the prudence and the common-sense of the American missionaries."

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Armenian Question.

A Progressive Grand Vizier—Victory of the Reactionary Party—Egypt and the Mahdi—Rise of the Armenian Question—Russian Intrigue—Articles of the Berlin Treaty—Autonomy Desired—The Huntchagist Committee—Placards in Asia Minor—Burning of American Building at Marsovan—Numerous Arrests—Armenians Exiled—Coercive Measures of the Government—American Citizens—Threats—Huntchagists Disowned by the Nation—Young Turkey Party—Absolute Failure of the Huntchagist Movement.

THE close of the Russo-Turkish war and the Treaty of Berlin left Abd-ul-Hamid II with the task before him of building up an empire which had almost fallen to pieces. On the one hand he was faced by the demands made upon him by England; he was under obligations to make special reforms in Asia Minor, also in Macedonia, Thessaly and Epirus, besides granting a liberal form of administration to Crete. On the other hand he was faced by an internal condition which was enough to daunt the bravest man. The financial condition of the empire was in a state of collapse; in fact there were no finances of any sort. The regular expenditures more than doubled the regular income; the currency was in a hopelessly disorganized condition; gold, silver, copper and paper were in circulation. The silver, however, had several different values. There were alloys of silver and copper of varying degrees of purity, each with its own value;

the paper currency also was never worth the same two days in succession. The whole business of the empire was disorganized. Various attempts, some of them honest, some thoroughly dishonest, almost all ludicrous, were made to bring order out of chaos. The Sultan entered upon his task with unquestionably a sincere desire for the welfare of his country, as is shown by his choice, within six months after the signing of the treaty of Berlin, of a Grand Vizier who had never been identified with Constantinople intrigue. Haireddin Pasha, a Circassian by birth, had had some years of experience in the control of matters in Tunis. He was known as a man of education, strictly honest and with a sense of duty very rarely to be found in the East. He was a thorough Moslem, believing heart and soul in the Mohammedan faith; believing also that it was thoroughly adaptable to all needs of civilization, and that it could be made equal in beneficent results to Christianity as set forth in the life of Europe. His access to power was looked upon as a good omen. On every hand the people expected him to restore in Turkey all the ancient usages of Islam. He found a task before him which demanded all his energies. He found officials in power in the provinces who, when ordered to report the number of able-bodied Moslems in their districts and draw rifles for distribution among them to check a revolt, added 10 or 20 per cent. to the actual number, drew the arms and then sold those not required for the Turks to the Christians. Others manifested the most atrocious lack of fidelity to their duty or of common sense in the conduct of their office. But this was not all; in the Porte itself the management was sincerely opposed to all real reform. The very clerks managed by all sorts of devices to misrepresent the orders that were given,

or to so tamper with the despatches that they were made of no avail. Orders to provincial governors sent out from the Palace frequently set aside previous orders of the ministry; the intrigues of the Palace clique permeated every department of the public service and the attendants upon the Sultan succeeded in blinding him constantly to the real situation. The first thing that Haireddin Pasha did was to send away from Constantinople to different interior provinces nearly all the pashas who had previously held the office of grand vizier. This, of course, made them all his enemies and the result was that he found himself involved in a struggle for his very existence. More than this, he made it manifest that his idea of justice included the Christians just as much as the Moslems, and that Moslem oppression of Christian subjects met with no favor at his hands. All these elements, combined with the financial stress, for which in the popular mind he was held responsible, helped on the struggle. At last he presented an ultimatum to the Sultan, in which he demanded his freedom, within the limits of responsibility, from the interference of the clerks and from intervention in the appointment of officials. The Sultan hesitated for some time, but at last refused to give this on the ground of its being a limitation of his royal prerogatives. Haireddin Pasha resigned, and his place was taken by the very men whom he had sent away.

Immediately following on this experience came the trouble in Egypt. Mehemet Ali had been followed by Abbas, a brutal voluptuary, and he by Ismail, a man of great ability, but of no conscience, who had pushed the country forward in some respects, but had so enslaved it by his personal extortion as almost to ruin it. Ismail was deposed by the de-

mands of the European Powers interested in the conduct of the Suez Canal and the securing of the bonds that had been placed there, and was followed by Tewfik, a good-natured, well-disposed, but weak man, incompetent to meet the difficulties that encompassed him on every hand. Here again the financial question came to the front. The interest on the bonds must be paid whether the army officials were paid or not. Thus arose the demand for the national party and the revolt headed by Arabi Pasha, which resulted in the bombardment of Alexandria, the war in lower Egypt and the military occupation of the country by Great Britain. Another important element in this was the desire of the Sultan to regain his hold upon the country. By the firman given to Mehemet Ali, the Sultan was really no more than suzerain. He felt that this was derogatory to his honor and wished to reduce the Khedive to the position of Vali. The whole story of English, French and Turkish diplomacy here is beyond the limits as well as the scope of this book. It is sufficient to say that it furnished an additional influence in determining the policy of the following years, carried out by Abd-ul-Hamid II.

Immediately consequent on the trouble in Egypt itself came the rise of the Mahdi in the Sudan. References have already been made to the peculiar jealousy on the part of the Arabs as to the position held by the Sultans as caliphs of the Moslem world. That existed to a considerable degree not merely in Arabia, but throughout Africa. It was assisted by the terrible oppression of the Egyptian Government under the Khedive Ismail. All through upper Egypt, and especially in the Sudan, there was the bitterest feeling, and when in 1880 a certain Mohammed Ahmet, a boat-builder of Dongola and belonging to the Sennussi tribe, proclaimed himself as the

Mahdi, he almost immediately secured quite a following. The Mahdi, or last high priest, or Imam, of the family of Ali, according to Moslem tradition, entered a cave and henceforward disappeared from the world. The Shiite Moslems believe that he still exists, and look forward to his issuing from it again in pomp to rule the world. The Sunnites believe that he will appear only at the end of the world, when he will convert all mankind to Islam and reign as vicar of Jesus Christ. This boat-builder rapidly won veneration from the Arabs of his section by the learning he had acquired in the schools at Khartum and Berber, and his apparent piety. He also manifested considerable ability and gathered a large force of Arabs, making considerable advance, notwithstanding the fact that the Sherif of Mecca branded him as an impostor and the ecclesiastical Ottoman world refused to believe that he had any claim worthy of recognition. He set forth to conquer Egypt, defeated four expeditions sent against him by the Egyptian Government, annihilated the Egyptian army, composed of 10,000 soldiers, with 40 European officers, and captured Khartum, killing General Gordon Pasha, the famous English leader. Further than this, however, his power could not go, and English troops kept him within the region of his own Sudan.

Insignificant in a certain way in itself, this Mahdi movement exerted considerable influence throughout the empire. It assisted to focus attention upon the distinctively Moslem character of the Ottoman Government and furnished quite a factor in the decision which became manifest ere long on the part of the Sultan to conduct his empire on different bases from those accepted by his father, Abd-ul-Medjid, or his grandfather, Mahmud II. In truth the Sultan seemed shut up

to one of two courses. He must either enter with his whole soul into the line marked out by Haireddin Pasha, or he must identify himself still more closely with the distinctively Moslem element in his empire. He found himself unable, even if he had been desirous, to do the former, and undoubtedly seemed to himself to be shut up to the latter. His principle, therefore, of government, as made manifest by the subsequent history of his reign and illustrated very fully in a later chapter, was to satisfy the Moslem element in his empire, whether the Christian element was satisfied or not. Accordingly he commenced a systematic course of developing the Moslem power and prestige at the expense of the Christians. Little by little he replaced Christians by Moslems in the administrative offices of the government; he indorsed increasingly restrictive laws, by which the Christian communities were deprived of very much of the advance that had been made manifest during the three preceding reigns. At first this policy was not altogether apparent, and it is possible that it was not definitely decided upon. Those who know the Turkish Empire, know how many things go by default; how one movement leads to another, and the result is a situation not recognized and not planned for at the beginning, but which becomes, as a matter of fact, a settled, definite policy. In this it is not necessary to suppose that the Sultan himself laid down the definite rules. Unquestionably a large part of it was due to the same influences that deposed Haireddin, the local officials both in Constantinople and the provinces. That this was true was evident in many ways. Decisions would be secured from the officers of the Porte, orders would be sent to the provinces with regard to various matters, and the reply would come after awhile that the orders had not

been carried out, and investigation would make manifest the fact that at the same time that these orders had been given, counter orders had been sent to the same official in a private way, absolutely annulling the general orders. The situation thus became increasingly difficult, when, after ten years or so, the Armenian question began to assume special prominence.

The Armenian question, as such, began with the treaty of Berlin. Previous to that there had been other questions: the Greek question, the Bulgarian question—the former resulting in the independence of Greece, and the latter in the independence of Bulgaria. Throughout Asiatic Turkey there had been no distinctive question of any sort; Armenians, Greeks, Jacobites, all had suffered alike under the general oppression. With the treaty of Paris, however, there began an increasing manifestation of the power of Russia in the protection of Greeks throughout the empire. The Armenians had had no special patron, but as they increased in wealth and in general prosperity, and also in education, learning more of their ancient history, it was natural that there should develop among them the idea of a renewed national life. The growth of this has already been described in general in the chapter on the Armenians; so also reference has been made to the various influences that were at work in forming this national movement. Here we dwell more especially upon the political side of that movement. Those who have followed the very brief summary that has been given in the preceding chapters of the political intrigues and influences, operating throughout the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries, will see how constant was the influence of Russia, exercised first among the Greeks on the shores of the Mediterranean, then in the various Danubian Provinces and finally in Bulgaria;

always they had for their purpose the stirring of hostility between Turks and Christians, and the enkindling of a feeling of dependence upon Russia as the only Power that could secure for them such national development as they desired. The same thing became manifest after a few years among the Armenians. The Pan-Slavist committee that had really fanned into flame the embers of hostility to the Turks in the Balkan Peninsula, with a view to the incorporation of those Slavic races with the Russians into a great Slavic empire, hardly found a congenial field among the Armenians. These latter are of different race and schismatics in religion and are looked upon by the Slavs everywhere as having no particular relations to themselves. They could form no integral part of the grand scheme, and there was no such feeling of sympathy for them as was distinctly manifest toward the Bulgarians, Servians, and others. Still the Russians never gave up their idea of an empire that should take in the whole of the Eastern Roman world, and replace the crescent by the cross on the dome of St. Sophia. Crippled even by their victory in the Russo-Turkish war, with great problems of internal administration staring them in the face, with opportunities opening in the far East and on the very borders of India, Turkey assumed for the time being a somewhat minor position in Russian diplomatic plans. At the same time it was never entirely out of sight, and there became manifest, before many years had passed by, the indications of another current of influence spreading from the Armenians of the Caucasus throughout the whole of Turkey. Whether these embassies were directly in the employ of a Russian organization or not, it is probably impossible to say; it may be that they were simply in sympathy with the desire referred to in a previous chapter of establishing an

Armenia again in the ancestral region extending from Ararat on the north to Van on the south. But whatever the immediate connection may have been, the fact remains that Russian-Armenian influences began to make themselves manifest within not many years after the signing of the treaty of Berlin, especially in certain sections. They found indeed very fertile soil in which to work. The two clauses of the treaty of Berlin to which the Armenians looked as furnishing them the hope of a better national life were the 61st and 62d articles, which read as follows:

"Art. 61. The Sublime Porte engages to realize without delay those ameliorations and reforms which local needs require in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and guarantees their security against the Circassians and the Kurds. It undertakes to make known, from time to time, the measures taken with this object to the Powers, who will watch over their application.

"Art. 62. The Sublime Porte having expressed its willingness to maintain the principle of religious liberty, and to give it the widest sphere, the contracting parties take cognizance of this spontaneous declaration. In every part of the Ottoman Empire difference of religion should not be held as a motive of exclusion or unfitness in anything that relates to the use of civil and political rights, admission to public offices, duties, and honors, and the exercise of all professions and industries, in whatever locality it may be. All should be admitted before the tribunals, the exercise and external practice of all religions should be entirely free, and no impediment should be offered either to the hierarchical organization of the different communions or to their spiritual chiefs; ecclesiastics, pilgrims, and monks of all nationalities traveling in European and Asiatic

Turkey shall enjoy the same rights, advantages, and privileges. The right of official protection is accorded to the diplomatic and consular agents of the Powers in Turkey, no less with regard to the persons above mentioned, with their religious and charitable establishments, than to others in the Holy Places and elsewhere. The rights conceded to France are expressly reserved, it being well understood that the status quo with respect to the Holy Places shall not be seriously affected in any way. The monks of Mount Athos, whatever their nationality, shall be maintained in possession of their possessions and previous advantages, and shall enjoy without exception full equality of rights and prerogatives."

The most cursory reading of these in the light of the succeeding years shows how completely the Turkish Government had failed to carry out any one of the different promises made in these articles, especially in that with regard to the Armenians. It was, perhaps, not unnatural that the first idea of those who plead the Armenian cause at Berlin should have been to secure an autonomous province. They had seen Bulgaria developed; they had seen also the growth of Rumania, of Greece and of Servia into kingdoms, and many of them could not understand why there might not be an Armenia. They looked upon the whole section extending south from the east end of the Black Sea, and including Van, as their ancestral property. Whatever there was there of Kurdish or Turkish occupation was really usurpation, and they felt that if the Powers of Europe would simply support them, they could assert their right and overpower these intruders. But even if there were not a distinct national province, they had seen the success of the plan developed in Syria. In the province of the Lebanon there were Moslems in great

numbers; nevertheless a Christian governor had been granted, and there had been for fifteen years such peace and prosperity as had not been known for centuries. At least this much might be secured to them. They, however, took the position that they would get in proportion as they asked; hence they asked for the greatest that could be given, with the expectation probably, at least on the part of the better informed, of securing not that, but something less, which should be after all a great advance on the condition at that time.

As, however, the general discussion of the question came up more and more prominently, the Armenian leaders began to see that there was a very widespread feeling that the Armenian nation was not equal to the position which they claimed for themselves. To begin with, they were a distinct minority in the very country that they desired to own; moreover the inhabitants of that section were in a considerable degree of the more ignorant classes. They were rude in their speech, uncultured in their manners, ignorant of almost all that pertains to national life. True, this was not their fault; it was rather a misfortune due to centuries of oppression. Still, there was the fact. Moreover, there was no organization that bound all the Armenians together. They were scattered communities with no bond of union, except their language and their church creed. These communities were ignorant of each other and jealous of each others' prosperity. The first thing, therefore, apparently that presented itself to the minds of the leaders was a general propaganda throughout the Armenians of the Turkish Empire, with a view to developing the national idea, and also with a view toward some form of organization, so that when the time for action came, they would be in a degree united. This was

undoubtedly the chief purpose of such men as Minas Tcheraz, who was at Berlin, and of the wisest men among the leaders. They understood the situation, and set themselves to accomplishing what they could. Had the movement remained in their hands, there is little probability but that the ultimate result, if not in accord with their highest ambition, would have been a better condition than the present. Here, however, appeared another phase.

There is in every nation a certain element of the heedless and reckless, seeing only the end to be gained, and impatient of the best means of reaching that end. Scattered throughout Europe were a number of Armenians who, having imbibed the free-thought ideas developed in the French Revolution, and fired by the experiences of 1848, were utterly impatient of the slower process of education. They were hot-headed and ambitious rather for themselves than for the nation, and they pointed to the experiences of Bulgaria and of the Greeks. They claimed that this slower process of education was all very well, but it would accomplish nothing. It might go on for generations without securing any definite national life. They pointed out that the European nations would never interfere except for their own interests; that England, France, and Europe generally, had cared nothing for the Bulgarian troubles until the massacres compelled interference in order to prevent Russia from overpowering themselves. From this the argument was easy that the Armenians could accomplish nothing unless the European Governments saw that there was such a state of anarchy throughout Asiatic Turkey as would compel their interference in order to prevent the general collapse, which every one feared would be the result of a widespread European war.

Their argument was simply, "These European Governments, especially England, will never help Armenians practically until they see that they have got to help them in order to save themselves from great danger; the only way to secure this is to stir the Turkish Government just as it was stirred in Bulgaria, and secure some kind of atrocities that shall focus the attention of the Christian world upon the Turkish Empire." This general argument was reinforced by the presence among the Armenians of the Nihilistic tendencies developed in Russia.

The result was the formation of a revolutionary society called the Huntchagists. Just where it was formed, just who were its members, and just where and how it operated, is not yet definitely evident. Contemporary history is seldom if ever complete. It is sufficient to say that in Athens, Marseilles and London there were coteries of Armenians who made it their business to stir strife throughout the nation. They sent emissaries through the length and breadth of the Turkish Empire. These met with the younger, more adventurous and less scrupulous element to be found in every nation, and commenced a general propaganda. Where there was oppression, that oppression was made the most of in public prints; stories of the most atrocious type were told. The Turkish rule was bad enough, but it was made to appear infinitely worse than it was by these men. But they found that this was not sufficient. They became apparently exasperated by their failure to rouse their own people to the pitch of excitement which they deemed essential in order to accomplish their purpose. Hence they commenced attacks of one kind and another, not merely upon the Moslems, but upon their fellow-countrymen who did not support them.

Threats were allowed to be heard of what the Armenians would do to anybody and everybody they did not like. It was inevitable that these should be heard; it was intended that they should be heard. Turkish governors were on the watch. One of the shrewdest of the provincial governors, a man whose general conduct of his office was by no means of the harshest, had the cannon of his capital trained upon an Armenian church because of the stories that came to him of the threats of these men. Then came the widespread use of revolutionary placards. Apparently they were posted by the Turks themselves, but whether this was true or not seemed uncertain. Naturally the Turkish officials began to exercise harshness. They felt that they were fighting some unseen foe and the results appeared in the form of arbitrary arrests and the most cruel punishments. Just when this general work commenced it seems to be impossible to say. Within ten years after the treaty of Berlin there were signs of the existence of this influence, but the most marked indications were manifest in 1892, coming to a head in the early part of 1893.

About this time the revolutionists, whether members of the Huntchagist party or not, seemed to have come to the conviction that there must be some overt act that should accomplish what they had in view—the focusing of the attention of Europe upon themselves. They seemed at first to be at somewhat of a loss as to the best method of doing this. Finally, under just what influences is not evident, they gathered, especially in the region of Marsovan and Yuzgat, and placards began to appear, sometimes on public buildings, sometimes on the walls of houses. On the night of the 5th of January, 1893, scores, even hundreds of these placards,

were posted in many places, all of a seditious character, rousing opposition against the government. Two were found affixed to the outer gate of the premises of the American Board missionaries at Marsovan, but before the paste upon them was dry they were pulled down by persons belonging to the college, who were passing through the gates. These placards were addressed to the Turks and full of denunciation of the government for its oppression and general corruption. Within ten days arrests began to be made. The chief of police was given full authority to investigate the matter, but his previous record and subsequent conduct showed him to be utterly unfit for the work. He was brutal, utterly regardless of law and simply bent upon wreaking personal vengeance wherever possible.

Just what the object was in endeavoring to identify the American buildings with this movement, it is not difficult to see. Americans are almost the only foreigners dwelling in the interior of Turkey. They are under peculiar protection by treaty rights. They are well known over the world, and throughout the whole period of their residence in Turkey have identified themselves very closely with the efforts to ameliorate the condition of the people. Anything that could identify them with anti-government manifestations would call down upon them the hostility of the government. That would result in damage of some sort, and this would call the attention of the foreign governments, which it was hoped would accomplish the end in view. With this it is entirely possible that there may have been personal bitter feeling. Not a few Armenians have felt that the missionaries were undermining their national life by their opposition to ecclesiastical formalism, and in their attacks on atheism and infidelity they were

charged by many with hindering the progress of free thought. Whatever the immediate purpose, this much was accomplished, that the attention of the Turkish Government was directed very forcibly to the missionaries. The chief of police, who perhaps had his own reasons for hostilities to the Americans, took advantage of the opportunity to threaten both the college and its teachers, charging the institution with being a source of sedition and affirming that the placards were issued from Anatolia College, since they were written by a cyclostyle such as the missionaries used. It was also reported throughout the city that the buildings were to be burned, and that high officials had declared that the college site should be a plowed field. In less than two weeks the senior Armenian professor of the college, Mr. Thoumaian, and a little later another member of the faculty, Professor Kayayan, were arrested and imprisoned, and every request to see them or to give bail for them was refused. There was not the slightest evidence that they had had anything to do with the issuing of the placards, and the whole charge seems to have been made for the purpose of furnishing a basis for an attack upon the college.

On the night of February 1st, one of the buildings which was in process of erection for the girls' school was set on fire. The presence of soldiers and officials near the building before alarm could possibly have been given, indicated their connection with it, but the charge was immediately made that the college authorities themselves had fired the building either to excite revolt among the Armenians or conceal the presence of arms and ammunition. These charges were sent on to Constantinople and the animus of the government is shown in its appointment of the same local officials, notoriously corrupt, and who were known to have threatened the college, for the

conduct of the examination. There was general disturbance throughout the whole region, with outbreaks in a number of places: Yuzgat, Gemerek, Cesarea, and elsewhere. Large numbers of arrests were made until certainly between two and three hundred Armenians, against whom no charge could be found, were imprisoned. The professors were not released even on bail and there was great excitement throughout the region.

Throughout the summer of 1893 the excitement continued to increase. Commissions were appointed to try these men in prison. At the trials, torture of the most atrocious kind was used to extort confession of guilt and charges against prominent men. Very little, however, was learned, and at last most of those arrested were released, though many were transferred to the different fortresses at the Island of Rhodes, near Mersine, and at St. Jean d' Acre in Syria. Among these were some Protestant pastors who had had no share whatever in the disturbance, but were looked upon with suspicion by the Turkish Government for their liberal ideas. The professors were put on trial. No proof whatever was found against them, and at last, on special protest by the English Government, they were released on condition of leaving the country. One feature in the investigations was the presence of a large number of documents, apparently in the hand-writing of some of the arrested men. It appeared, however, on investigation, that there were a large number of forgeries, one of the American missionaries finding his own name signed to some papers. The question of the burning of the school building was taken up earnestly by the American Government and indemnity was secured from Turkey, together with a permit to rebuild.

In one sense the revolutionists had achieved their purpose. They had attracted attention, and it had become very evident to Europe that matters in Turkey were going from bad to worse. The great activity of the Turkish Government, however, made their position in Turkey quite difficult. They appeared less and less in the country itself for some time, but took their station outside, and through Europe and even in this country they made general charges against the Turkish Government and gathered funds to continue from a safe position the general propaganda which had been started in Turkey. At this point a new phase of their work appeared. For some time there had been considerable effort on the part of Armenians to secure American citizenship, return to Turkey and demand the same protection at the hands of the Turkish Government that was accorded to native-born American citizens. The diplomatic relations of this will be referred to in another chapter on the relations between America and Turkey. In some respects they were able thus to accomplish a good deal, but some serious difficulties arose. Individuals claiming American protection were charged by the Turkish Government with exerting seditious influence, and complaints were made to the United States Government with regard to it. The position was taken by this government that it could not force upon the Turkish Government the continued presence of its own citizens who were not desired by that government. This aroused a great cry and increasing efforts were made to secure at the hands of this government complete protection. The chief effect, however, was to direct attention more than ever to their work, and letters appeared from different parts of Turkey protesting against the influences that went forth from these revolu-

tionary committees, taking the ground that they were having simply the effect of arousing the hostility of the Turkish officials, while they were accomplishing no good purpose.

As has already been said, the extent of this revolutionary movement it is impossible to state accurately. The members of the committees are not known; how widely their movement had received, if not the absolute indorsement, at least the sympathy of their own people, is also very uncertain. This much, however, is unquestionable, that while individuals in various parts of the empire did have this sympathy with the revolutionary idea, there were very few indeed who carried it to the extreme favored by the committee. Occasionally a man would be found who would say, as one did to one of the missionaries, "If I had my way I would kill you immediately. That would bring the whole matter to a crisis, and it would be the best thing for us." But this was entirely repugnant to most of those who favored overt action, and the great majority of Armenians in every portion of the empire not only had no share in the plans, but where they knew of them, bitterly opposed them. As a matter of fact the revolutionary movement has never been a national movement. It has represented individual ideas, and while those individuals were to a degree numerous, especially in certain sections, they have never represented the great mass of the people. The influence of the American missionaries, the influence of the Armenian ecclesiastics and of the better informed in the nation, was strongly against any such attempt. All knew that it was madness. The facts, that the Armenians were so scattered throughout the empire, that they were untrained in the use of arms, that so little organization was possible among them, all combined to make the movement a

most atrocious wrong to the people. At the same time it had its effect upon the Turks, both government and people. The appearance of the placards was attended to a considerable degree by talk among the people, which spread until there became a widely extended feeling that there was a revolution impending, and the Turks in many places really felt afraid of the influence that might be exerted through the Christian population. In some places this amounted to panic, and there were not a few cases during 1893 and in the early part of 1894, when Turkish officials had all they could do to restrain the hostile manifestations of the Moslem communities. Another effect was that it gave force to the arguments of the reactionary Turks, who claimed that all this yielding to the desires of the Christians was nonsense, and that the only thing for the Sultan to do was to set himself deliberately against them and to make it very clear that in Turkey the Turk ruled and Islam would brook no rival.

In this immediate connection mention should be made of an undoubted fact. The elements among the Turks represented by Haireddin Pasha, called variously the Party of Progress, or the Young Turkey Party, were at the same time carrying on a certain propaganda, to what extent it is impossible to say. Their leaders, among them Midhat Pasha, and those who had been associated with him, had been exiled and put to death. They themselves had been scattered in one way or another over the empire. Constantinople, and indeed all Europe, was aroused by the story of a number of young Turks who came from an interior city to Constantinople, were seen upon the steamer, and then disappeared from view. Whither they went no one could tell. Afterwards individuals appeared claiming to be members of that company and saying

that they had been arrested and sent into exile only to return with great difficulty. There was a general feeling that revolution was in the air. The Huntchagists represented the Armenian phase of it; the Young Turkey Party the Moslem phase of it. Each probably helped the other; each laid upon the other the responsibility for certain acts aimed against the government. The Armenians said that the placards at Marsovan, etc., were posted by the Turks; the Turks retorted the charge upon the Armenians. Just where the truth is, it will probably be some years before it is possible to state with accuracy.

In the events that followed the massacres at Sassun, Constantinople, Erzrum, etc., the traces of Huntchagists are apparent in some; absolutely wanting in others. Since then the party seems to have disappeared from view. Nothing is heard of it; nothing said about it. If it exists, it is hiding itself, partly, it is to be hoped, in shame and remorse for the cruelties that have at least in good measure resulted from its folly, partly because its schemes have been brought absolutely to naught by the dominating power of Russia. They started out for an autonomous Armenia. They failed absolutely of securing even a moderate reform in the condition of their people. Conceived in conceit, in treachery and in falsehood, its fruit has been ruin and misery of the worst type.

CHAPTER XIX.

General Situation in 1894.

Terrible Oppression—Exaggerated Reports—Truth Stranger Than Fiction—Religious Liberty Infringed Upon—Oppressive School Laws—Rigorous Censorship—General Effort of the Government to Suppress Christian Development.

THE situation in the summer of 1894 throughout the empire was one bordering on anarchy. From every section of the country came word of the most atrocious treatment by the Turkish Government of its Christian subjects. Taxes were imposed in a way that in the already impoverished condition of the country was simply ruinous. The effect of the action of the revolutionists in Marsovan had been to arouse very bitter feeling against them on every hand and to create an impression, even among those favorable to the nation, that they were chiefly responsible for the situation. At the same time reports were sent to the European papers of the most thrilling type. Some of these were true, most were based upon truth, but there was not a little exaggeration in details.

Great excitement was aroused by the publication in the English papers of a detailed statement furnished by the Vienna correspondent of the *Daily News* as to the treatment of Armenian prisoners in Central Asia Minor. According to this, hundreds of them were cast into prison, stripped of their clothes and tortured in the most diabolical manner.

While men were beaten, women were outraged in the presence of their husbands and fathers, and general atrocities committed that surpassed in horror those of the invasions of the Goths and Huns. Careful investigation showed that while these charges were in some sense correct, the impression made by them in general was often false. In one case the hundreds dwindled to twenty-eight, and while there was outrage enough to stir the indignation of every righteous man, there was exaggeration enough to enable the Turkish Government to represent that these stories were based upon a general desire to create trouble. Instances innumerable might be given of the methods adopted with regard to individuals. A few must suffice. An intelligent Armenian physician had been practicing for some years in one of the cities in Central Asia Minor. He had a good reputation, and both Greeks and Turks as well as Armenians patronized him and urged him to accept the office of city physician. With some reluctance he yielded. A petition was sent to Constantinople and he was appointed. He found the drinking water of the city polluted by the proximity of slaughter-houses and water closets to the water course. He reported the case to the local government in accordance with his duty as health officer. As nothing was done by them he appealed to the Governor-General of the province, but without any result. Then, following out strict orders from Constantinople with regard to the prevention of cholera, he reported to the health department at Constantinople and the headquarters of the army corps of the district. The Governor-General thereupon received a reprimand, and in great anger summoned the physician to the capital of the province. A request to go to his home for warmer clothing, for it was in mid-winter, was met with stern refusal, and a police force of

twenty men with an officer at their head dragged him through the markets and the streets for more than half a mile, to the outskirts of the city, where he lay for half an hour unconscious. When he recovered he was placed upon a horse, but he could not sit up, and was tied to his back. The governor, in great rage, said that he should not be allowed to live in the province at all. Requests of people from another city that he come there, were not granted.

As another illustration, a photographer of one city presented the usual charge for some pictures made on the order of an official. The governor summoned him, and roared out, "Are not you one of those local Armenians that I can make rot?" So terrified was the poor man that he was glad to slink away and say nothing about pay.

These are but illustrations of what was done over the whole empire by the order of high officials, until there became a veritable reign of terror, and no man felt his life or property, or the honor of his wife and daughter safe, in any interior city, town or village. Perhaps, however, the most forcible setting forth of the situation is found in a statement not in regard to the ordinary brutality of officials, or the rapacity of Kurds. It had become more and more evident that there was a general plan of the government to intensify by its oppression, as much as possible, the recognition on the part of the Christians of their absolute subordination to Moslems. In response to a special request from the British ambassador, a statement was drawn up by persons thoroughly well-posted in regard to the general condition, and from that statement are taken in considerable degree the facts that follow.

One of the glories of the administration of Abdul Medjid was the Hatti Humayoun of 1856, the charter of liberty and

equality to the Christians of Turkey. This has already been referred to in preceding chapters, and needs no further description here, except to recall the statement that its aim was the carrying into effect of the principle of equality between the Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans of the empire. During the remainder of the reign of Abdul Medjid, and to a considerable extent during that of Abdul Aziz, this principle had been followed.

Soon after the treaty of Berlin, however, there became manifest a tendency to displace Christians by Moslems in responsible posts in every department of government in Asiatic Turkey. Some still remained, for the reason that there were practically no Moslems competent to fill the positions. Administrative offices were even still to some extent occupied by Armenians or Greeks, but their number had been increasingly small. At the time of which we are speaking, 1894, there was in the Council of State, to which the administration of the interior provinces belongs, but one Christian member, notwithstanding the fact that measures affecting the vital interests of the Christian population were daily subjects for consideration. So also the High Council of the Ministry of Public Instruction, specially directed by the Hatti Humayoun to be a mixed council, had but one non-Moslem member, although it decided upon the interests of all Christian schools in the country. The Superior Council of Censorship had also a very insignificant proportion of non-Moslem members, notwithstanding the fact that by far the greatest number of books for Christians either published in Turkey or imported from without were by Protestants. Although the proportion of readers of books in the Protestant communities was far greater than in any other, there was not a single Protestant

on this council, or indeed in any high council or responsible position under the government. One result of this was seen in the absurd laws passed by the Board of Censors with regard to the introduction and publication of books. Instances of this kind could be given in numbers; thus the word *Armenia* was stricken out of every book. A translation of the hymn—

"The children are gathering from near and from far,
The trumpet is sounding the call for the war,"

was forbidden as being revolutionary, and even a number of English hymn books were detained for weeks and months by the Board of Censors, in the search for the English version of this same hymn.

One of the special points in the Hatti Humayoun was the suppression of the ancient custom of making the police agents collectors of taxes. This had given rise to grave abuses. Little by little the usage was restored and finally, in the summer of this year, an imperial edict set aside the work of that charter, by appointing the police throughout the country to be tax-collecting agents, with a system of rewards to those officers who should succeed best in collecting money. Torture and capital punishment were absolutely forbidden by this same charter, yet in the trials in regard to the disturbances at Angora, in 1893, and at Yuzgat, in 1894, torture of the most inhuman character was extensively used in order to force men to testify according to the orders of the officials. An Armenian at Marsovan was flogged until his back was raw flesh, to force him to sign a declaration that certain Americans were plotting with Armenians an insurrection. An Armenian blacksmith, in the province of Angora, was made insane by the torture inflicted on him in prison.

Residents in Constantinople and throughout the empire in the early years of the century had been accustomed to hear the most opprobrious epithets used to them by Turks of every grade. Under the influence of Abdul Medjid and the Hatti Humayoun this diminished greatly, and as a consequence the social relations grew more and more friendly. During the five years previous to 1894, however, a marked change was noticed everywhere throughout the empire. There was far more of brutality in the treatment of individuals; there was an increasing lack of regard for the customs of the Christians. The governor of Nicomedia, only sixty miles from Constantinople, ordered a leading Christian merchant of that place to open his shop for business on Sunday. On his refusal to do that which his religion forbade, this same officer publicly and abominably reviled the religion that taught him such a thing. He then struck the merchant in the face and tried by fierce threats to compel him to "obey the orders of an officer of the Sultan." In the province of Erzrum some soldiers came to a village on Sunday and demanded sacks to carry grain. They were requested to wait until the close of the service when the sacks would be furnished. They however entered the church, bawled out to the preacher to stop the service, and even drew their swords upon the men who sought to quiet this interruption. An officer of a Christian community in another city had occasion to go to police headquarters for a document. He was met with a torrent of unspeakably vile abuse of himself and the most sacred things of his religion. There were a large number of officers and privates of the police present, but not one remonstrated. In no case was there any possibility of redress, although twenty

years before, punishment would have been accorded promptly to the offending officers.

With regard to the general treatment of the Christian peasants in the districts of Eastern Turkey, it is impossible to give anything like an adequate conception of the situation. Not merely were the villagers subject to open robbery by the Kurds, but to the scarcely less ruinous extortion carried on by the lower government officials. The outrages carried on by Kurds under their new semi-military organization, had given occasion to petition after petition to the Central Government. No attention, however, was paid to them, and in 1893 orders were sent from Constantinople forbidding the transmission of any more petitions against these regiments. But it was not merely the Kurds that the people had to fear. Reference has already been made to the Circassians that were brought in in such numbers from the Caucasus. They had spread themselves over Western Asia Minor, and while at first less bold became, during the five years under special survey, so arrogant that no Christian farmer could hope to hold his property if it pleased the eye of one of these men. A general survey of the whole situation leaves the inevitable impression of a plan officially adopted to wage an indirect war upon the whole Christian population by crushing them, reducing them to poverty, and to clear them off from the face of the land in order to replace them by a Moslem population.

That this plan was a general one against all non-Moslems is evidenced by the fact that the oppression and the injustice was by no means confined to the Armenian villages and towns. The Greek villages suffered only in a secondary measure, while the Christian population of Mesopotamia suffered fully as much. In *The Independent* of New York, in the issue of

January 17th, 1895, was published a long statement as to the exactions made upon the various villages by the Kurdish chiefs and also by the government officials. The following is an illustration of the latter. During the summer of 1894 the government demanded back taxes from a certain village to a large amount, which according to the villagers had no foundation in justice. They had already been impoverished and had no means of paying the tax. Under very heavy pressure from the government, however, they raised a part of the sum by mortgaging their fields and future crops, leaving a balance which they absolutely could not pay. Driven to desperation by the soldiers, who insisted upon collecting the taxes, they entirely deserted their village and fled to the mountains. After some months the government endeavored to induce them to return, and promised redress for their wrongs. When however they did return, still increased pressure was brought to bear upon them to secure money. In a number of villages the people were literally bought as slaves. In some cases the food supply, beds, household utensils, farmers' implements were seized by the collectors in lieu of taxes. These collectors then made false returns of taxes received, and when the new officials came, using the incomplete reports of their predecessors they again collected the taxes, entailing much suffering.

In still further proof of the statement that the situation was the result of a general plan for the suppressing of the Christians, attention should be called to a series of facts with regard to aggressions upon specific religious liberty. Before 1856, an imperial firman (permit) had been required for all Christian churches, and worship in any others than those indorsed by the Imperial Government was absolutely forbidden.

After that date the Hatti Humayoun recognized the right of all people to worship as they saw fit; and while the construction of churches was especially referred for authorization by imperial firman, the right to read the Testament, as worship was called, in private dwellings was fully acknowledged.

From that time until 1891, this liberty was enjoyed throughout the country. When it became a question of the erection of a large church to be consecrated for divine service, the imperial permit was always secured. But there were many cases in smaller villages and towns, and even in cities, where the community was not large enough to warrant an expensive building, where the people gathered in a room in a private house. This served for service on Sunday and sometimes on week days; also for private schools, and meantime was in many instances a dwelling place for the family of the preacher or teacher. It was not until 1891 that the Sublime Porte questioned for the first time officially the right of Christians to conduct worship in this way in private houses. In the following year an edict was issued which took advantage of the fact that in certain cases worship was conducted in the same room as private schools, and basing its claim upon the recognized law that schools were under general imperial supervision, decreed the suppression of worship in schools not formally authorized and found to be without permits after a stipulated time. When objection was made to this, the reply was that this was a technical measure, bringing existing places of worship under regular forms, and promising that permits would be issued promptly on application. As a matter of fact several permits were thus issued. But two years later a new move was made in this same direction and a

number of places of Protestant worship throughout Asiatic Turkey were suppressed, under the claim that no worship at all could be carried on in any building that had not received specific authorization by imperial firman. The situation was explained by a provincial official as follows: "Every place where a Christian says his prayers is reckoned as a church, and a church cannot exist without an imperial firman." The result of this was that there were numerous cases all over the country, not merely in the interior, but in Constantinople and in Syria, where the Protestants were prohibited from worship.

One case deserves special note. For many years the Protestant community in Stamboul, or the city proper of Constantinople, had worshipped in a private house under the general permit accorded in 1856. That building became unsafe through age and a new one was desired. Petition after petition was made, and every conceivable pretext, and many that seemed absolutely inconceivable, was brought forward to prevent their securing the right to worship. Similar instances occurred in Sidon, in Syria, others in the provinces of Trebizond, Harput, Angora and Adana. In the city of Ordu, not far from Trebizond, where there was a large Protestant community, effort after effort was made to secure a building, and one was at last obtained after repeated applications. Objections, however, were made by local Greek priests, and the Turkish Government took advantage of this and stopped the worship. It thus became notorious that the government would take advantage of every pretext of whatever kind, whether of hostility on the part of local magnates or of what they considered general welfare, to check so far as possible the spread of Christian worship. Of course the

regularly authorized churches were not disturbed, whether belonging to Armenians, Greeks, Jacobites or Protestants.

What is perhaps a still more marked instance of this is found in the action with regard to schools. According to the Hatti Humayoun the various communities were authorized to open schools and in the circular that attended the promulgation of the edict it was said:

"In regard to schools created and erected by the communities, the most absolute liberty is left to them by the Imperial Government, which never intervenes save to prevent in cases of necessity the confiding of the direction of these schools to persons whose principles are notoriously hostile to the authority of the Imperial Government or contrary to public order."

For twenty-eight years this liberty was fully enjoyed by the various Christian communities. The result was the springing up of a system of education over the whole country that changed in many respects the character of the various communities. The dominant cause for this is set forth in another chapter, that on mission work, and need not be explained here further than to say that the impulse was given by the American and English missonaries, but was cordially followed out by Armenian, Greek, Maronite, Bulgarian and other Christian communities, and had its effect even upon the Moslems themselves. In Syria in 1882, and throughout the empire in 1884, the government suddenly commenced to suppress Christian schools on the ground of lack of conformity to the school law of 1867. This was news to all. But on examination it was found that in an obscure paragraph preceded and followed by matter relating solely to the organization of a governmental system, there was a single clause touching what are known as private schools. According to this these are permitted on condition that the course of

study, the books used, and the diplomas of the teachers be submitted for the approval of the local authorities. For fifteen years this had been held in abeyance, and was absolutely unknown until some thirty schools were closed in Syria for disobedience of it. Then followed a series of negotiations, which resulted in a declaration by the Minister of Public Instruction that existing Christian schools would not be molested if they submitted to control in the three points mentioned. Throughout the country there was general submission to this control, but on application for permits, the statement was uniformly made that they could be given to none but new schools.

This again blocked the way. Three years later a large number were closed for lack of permits. Then followed renewed negotiations; and a vizerial order was issued in 1889, confirming the declaration of the Minister of Public Instruction. Again three years later the edict referred to was issued, ordering the closing of all schools and places of worship which did not obtain formal permits within a specified time, though it was left to the will of the officials to issue or refuse the permits. The situation was then somewhat alleviated, but the next year a new difficulty arose. The local authorities claimed that the permits required were not those of the Department of Public Instruction but an imperial firman, and in 1894, the Sublime Porte declared that no school of any kind could exist without an imperial firman. Stringent orders were issued laying heavy penalties upon officials who neglected to close schools without permits. Teachers were forbidden to allow addresses to be made to scholars or to have essays read by scholars at public festivals without first submitting both to the censorship. No private house occupied by an authorized

Christian school was to be repaired except by special order from Constantinople; houses or building lots could not be purchased by English, American or French subjects without a bond promising that the buildings should be razed to the ground if worship or schools were at any time established in them.

The inevitable result of this was to fill the provincial authorities with the idea that the Ottoman Government was hostile to Christian educational institutions.

Another illustration was the requirement by a decree issued in this same year that all Christian schools were to give considerable instruction in the Turkish language. Such an edict inevitably closed the schools in Damascus, in Mesopotamia and in certain portions of Asia Minor, where neither teachers nor scholars knew that language. About the same time there came to light the influence of a law issued in 1892, organizing an Imperial Civil Service school, which forbade the employment in government bureaus of any one graduating from other than government schools. Thus again a blow was struck at the higher education in Christian schools throughout the country.

In the same line with this was the action of the government with regard to censorship of the press and of books, whether those printed in the country or imported from abroad. Immediately following 1856, there was considerable freedom of action in this particular. While there was a general supervision of everything that was either printed or imported into the empire, there was manifest an inclination to trust to the honor of reputable publishers and importers. Occasionally there was transgression, but as a rule by private individuals. The large societies or printing houses invariably sought to

accord absolutely to the law, even where they found it extremely irksome. With the advent of the present Sultan, however, a change became manifest. Constantly increasing restrictions were placed. Law after law regulating the sale and publishing of books was issued, each more stringent than its predecessor. No book was allowed to be printed without carrying on its title page the permit of the Bureau of Censors, and no book was allowed to be imported without the stamp of the censors. Considerable negotiation in this regard resulted in a plan, which while irksome was not really injurious, and it was thought that everything would move rightly.

Soon, however, it became evident that still more restrictions were to be enforced. The existing law was interpreted in the most absurd ways. As an illustration ; a colporteur started out from the city of Erzrum to carry his books through the villages. He was stopped at the gate of the city by the police. He showed his traveling passport and stated that all his books had the permit of the official board of censors. The officer would accept nothing and insisted upon his going to the government house. There his books were placed in a room and he was told to come after a few days. He came but there was no reply; there had been no time to examine the case. He came again, and at last by persistence secured the examination by the proper officer. This examination showed conclusively that everything was according to law, and the colporteur was permitted to go. He started again to the gate of the city, and found a new officer on duty. He was again arrested and sent back to the government house. Again there was a delay, until the same officer's attention could be secured. This thing happened several times and several weeks passed before the man could go on his way.

GATEWAY INTO THE WAR DEPARTMENT AT CONSTANTINOPLE. The fire tower on the right. The horses are those used by persons wishing to go about the city, many of the streets being almost impassable for carriages. The wagons are what are called "emigrant" wagons, used for cartage by peasants, who have brought them from European Turkey.

THE CITY OF TREBIZOND, on the northern coast of Asia Minor. In the background is the Black Sea, and in the foreground the only harbor that there is. This is open to the northeast, so that there is really very little protection. Trebizond was one of the first cities to suffer from massacre in the fall of 1895.

Instances innumerable of this kind could be given from all over the country.

The last law gave a list of subjects on which all publications were absolutely prohibited, so broad that any official might if he chose, exclude from this province all Christian literature. Any censor in the capital or in the interior provinces might reject a book if a single sentence in it appeared of doubtful meaning, and severe penalties upon the importation, sale, distribution or even transportation of any book which had not received the censors' approval, were applied not merely to dealers but to private owners. The result of this was that again and again individuals were severely punished for having in their possession technically unauthorized books; that is, such as had been published before the existence of these later laws. The effect of this is seen in the fact that throughout the interior provinces of the empire it has been of late almost impossible to find any books at all, and the children of fairly educated parents are growing up in ignorance.

But the animus of the law was seen not only in its application to the interior provinces, but to the private libraries of foreigners, and to the local press in the border cities. In few countries has there been a greater newspaper development than in certain parts of Turkey. In Constantinople, there are a large number of daily papers in every language, Turkish, Armenian, Greek, French, English, Italian, Spanish, Judæo-Spanish (for the large number of Spanish Jews), Bulgarian, Arabic and others. Over every one of these papers there was exercised the most rigid censorship; not merely local news, but foreign news was subjected to the most careful examination, and any item of any kind, that did not meet with the approval of the officers, was remorselessly stricken out.

More than that, every paper was compelled under penalty of instant suppression, to publish every item that the government saw fit to issue to it. The effect of this is seen in the statements in connection with the massacres. No statement of any kind with regard to these massacres was allowed, until they became so notorious that it was simply impossible to absolutely prevent them. Then the government issued official statements so utterly false, that not even the Turks themselves would believe them. The following paragraphs, from the paper referred to above, illustrate very fully the nature of many of these restrictions:

"The censorship of foreign religious and literary works is so stringent as to deprive the Christians in Turkey of the ordinary means of keeping in touch with the advancement of knowledge among their co-religionists abroad. Such classics of English literature, for instance, as Shakespeare, Byron, Milton, Scott, are refused authorization. So with the higher literature of any language. No standard History, no Encyclopedia, no treatise on metaphysics of any extended character, no full and extended theology or commentary on the Bible, can pass the censorship for introduction into the interior of Turkey. And if any minister or teacher, anxious to fill well his place, ventures to smuggle such books through or to possess the rudiments of a library, he is certain sooner or later to fall under the notice of the paid spy, and then must submit to the condemnation for the crime which the authorities choose to consider to be "incited" by the history or theological work concerned. The effect of the refusal to admit the standard works of Christendom, in keeping teachers of Christian schools in Turkey down to the level of the primary school, need not be enlarged upon.

"The censorship of books published within the empire is still more rigorous, no longer professing to confine itself to politics or to polemics in religion, but taking hold of and mutilating books designed for the religious instruction and encouragement of Christians. It is conceivable that here Mohammedan censors might defend their right to prohibit, as they do, the publication in Turkish, where Moslems might see them, of the noble works which have been the inspiration and the comfort of Christians in all ages. But it is not conceivable that justification can be found in the case of interference with the publication of such books, printed, not in Arabic letters that Moslems use, but in the Christian alphabets which no Mohammedan can read. Yet the Christian, anxious to aid his fellow-Christians to lead noble and useful lives, may not publish articles in his own religious newspapers, which contain, for instance, the quotation of texts of Scripture. These are commonly prohibited either on the plea that the texts are not suitable for the common people, or because they contain words which are forbidden, and cannot be altered by the publisher because they are the words of the Bible. For instance, a text which alludes to rising from the dead may not be used because the verb "to rise" in some other context might mean something else. Any passage from the Bible is prohibited which contains any of the following words: Persecution, courage, liberty, strength, rights, union, equality, star (in astronomy one has to use the word "luminary" instead), king, palace, arms, bloodshed, tyranny, hero, etc., etc. In fact these words are prohibited in religious articles in any context whatever. A Christian religious newspaper may not place before its readers a hymn or other poetry, and from the hymn books used in Christian worship many of the grand old hymns

of the Church have been expunged, and the suppression sustained after appeal to the highest authority of the Porte. A Christian writer addressing Christians who know only Turkish, in the Turkish language, is constantly forbidden to use words of purely religious signification which are the words used in the Bible and the only ones known to the people to express a given idea, because the idea is held by the censor to belong to Mohammedanism alone. Of such are "the guiding grace of God;" forbidden, because Moslems do not admit that Christians can have this grace. "Good news," the literal translation used in the Bible of the Greek word "Evangelion," commonly rendered in English as the Gospel. The use of this word is prohibited, because Moslems do not admit that the Gospel of Jesus Christ is "good news." "Apostle" (resoul) is a word found in everyday Turkish law in its sense of messenger. It is prohibited in the Christian newspaper press, because it implies that the Apostles of Jesus Christ were sent of God, which Moslems deny. The same prohibition, for Mohammedan religious reasons, lies upon the use, in Christian religious books or religious newspapers, of references to our Saviour as "the Saviour of the world" or to his shedding his blood for the cleansing from sin.

"But aside from these interferences, the censors refuse to allow certain subjects of religious discourse to be presented to Christians. Thus the virtues of manliness, of moral courage, or resignation under affliction, of hope in God under adversity, are all subjects concerning which Christian religious books may not speak to Christians. The same is true of exhortations to benevolence, of practical suggestions to Christians as to means of copying Jesus Christ in doing good to others, of suggestions of Christian evangelistic work among

the ignorant and degraded of the Christian communities, and of reference to Christian missions and their operations in other parts of the world.

"Besides all this, Protestant ministers are molested in their services when they preach upon these normal themes of their religion. The Protestant pastor of Yuzgat was expelled from the place for no other offence. The Protestant pastor at Sungurlu was compelled to leave that town for preaching on the resurrection from the dead. The Protestant pastor from Gemerek is undergoing imprisonment in the fortress of St. Jean d'Acre for no other offence, to judge from the evidence produced at his trial. The Protestant pastor at Chakmak, near Cesarea, has just been thrown into prison; and those who know his law-abiding and sterling character, assure us that his efforts to lead his flock into closer adherence to Bible Christianity are his only crime. Protestant pastors everywhere declare that they are compelled, in choosing texts from the Bible, and in framing their exhortations upon them, to hesitate, and paraphrase, and weigh words, through fear that if they speak of the consolations of Christianity, they will be charged with encouraging discontent; if they urge resistance to sin, they will be condemned for suggesting resistance to the Turkish Government; or if they speak of the demand of Christianity for pure and noble character, they will be charged with inciting men to unlawful aspirations. On complaint being made of such restrictions upon the legitimate instruction of Christians, officials in high position have answered that while provincial governors are constantly sending extracts from the Bible to prove the necessity of suppressing that book, Christians should be grateful for the privilege of being allowed to have the Bible, instead of complaining at being restricted

in making or publishing comments upon it. Yet when there has been removed from the instruction of Christians all reference to the requirements of Christianity for practical benevolent living and to its abundance of assurances of the Divine aid in adversity and of the rewards of resignation, and to the proofs of its power which are found in the experiences of the Church universal in different parts of the world, much has been done to prevent Christians from knowing the worth or experiencing the effects of their own religion in their own hearts."

It might be said that this whole question of restriction of worship, schools and the press, is looked at from the distinctively Turkish standpoint, and the claim made that the government legitimately sought to protect the Moslems from being infected with Christian ideas. The answer to this is found in the fact that the restrictions did not by any means apply merely to publications in the Arabic character, such as is used by all Moslems, but to publications which no Moslem ever could or would read, in the Armenian or Greek characters, or even in foreign languages. In the same line is the fact that attacks upon Christianity were freely allowed by the Turkish Government, while replies from Christians were distinctly forbidden. These Moslem attacks were full of the most scurrilous statements and contemptuous epithets, and were so maliciously false as to almost overshoot their mark. Still the authors of these works were decorated by the Sultan himself, and every effort was made to give to them the widest possible circulation. So, also, in the Turkish newspapers, attacks after attacks were made upon the Christian subjects of the Sultan, to which absolutely no reply was allowed. The paper closes with the following summary:—

"To review the case, we find an increasing stringency in Turkey directed against Christian education, an increasing tendency to hinder Christian worship, an increasing hostility to the use of books by the Christians of Turkey, which result in actually crippling the intellectual powers of men who would carry their culture along the lines of the best thought of Christendom. We find an increasing vigilance to prevent Christians from exercising the injunctions of their religion in practical benevolence and beneficence among their own people. And in these later years we find this tendency reaching a climax of intensity in the rough hands laid upon the exposition of the Christian faith in a way to prevent Christians from learning the full value of their religion and to prevent the Christian religion from producing its full fruit among its followers. In answer to inquiry as to the meaning of this rapid trend of different lines of policy converging to one point, we are told that the trouble is that Christianity tends to make men grow into a better manhood. This statement is made in various forms of paraphrase by officials of all grades from Bagdad to the Bosporus, and in answer to all objections, to the closing of schools, to the suppression of worship, to the restrictions put upon the use of books, to the elision of words and subjects from manuscripts in the press, and to the silencing of Christian ministers. To this declaration we make answer that the deliberate purpose of the founder of Christianity and of the religion which He taught is the purpose to take the debased and ignorant, and to make them men, self-controlled, honest and useful; that the purpose to elevate man is not a disloyal or seditious purpose; and that any far-reaching scheme to restrain Christianity from accomplishing its full fruit in purifying and quickening the lives of its followers, is war upon the Christian religion itself."

CHAPTER XX.

The Sassun Massacre.

A Deliberate Plan of The Turkish Government—Kurdish Raids—Armenians Defend Themselves—Kurds Reinforced by Regular Troops—Terrible Scenes of Slaughter—Stories of Survivors.

IN view of the situation set forth in the preceding chapter the European powers emphasized more earnestly than before their demand for reforms, and the Turkish Government became convinced that another step was necessary in order to avert what they feared would be the complete destruction of their power. What that step was it is the object of this chapter to describe, leaving the inference as to the plan to come later.

Among the different plains of Eastern Turkey there is none more fertile than the plain of Mush, about forty miles west of Lake Van. From the earliest times it has been noted for its harvests and for the general prosperity of its people, who partook, to a greater degree than was true of many other sections, of the vigor of the mountaineers. Bordered with high mountains on every side it was always an object of envy to the Kurdish tribes. Incursions had been repeatedly made and some result was manifest in the increase of Moslem villages here and there over the plain. Still, however, it was the center of Armenian influence in that section; even Bitlis and Van were scarcely more intensely Armenian than Mush.

It was natural also that some of the revolutionists should

turn their eyes to this section. Here if anywhere must be the center of the new Armenia, and an effort was undoubtedly made to stir some of the people to a revolution in opposition to the Turkish Government. The plain villagers, however, furnished very little encouragement for anything of this kind. They realized perhaps even more clearly than the mountaineers did that opposition to the combined force of the Turkish Government and the Kurdish tribes was worse than useless, and the agitators found themselves turned aside after accomplishing but very little. They then turned their attention to the mountain villages where the spirit of independence was more strongly manifest. In the summer of 1893 one of these men was captured near the city of Mush, and the government had suspicion that friends of his were gathering in the mountains on the east. They accordingly sent word to certain Kurdish chiefs whose men had been enrolled in the Hamidieh cavalry to make a raid. Knowing the character of the mountaineers, these chiefs made their preparations somewhat carefully. They gathered their men from every side, and it became evident to the Armenians that there was to be trouble. For a time there were simply ordinary raids; animals were carried off, occasionally a man was killed—sometimes Armenian, sometimes Kurd. Ordinarily when a Kurd was slain his body was secured for burial before his people could come to claim it.

At last there was a pitched battle in which the villagers were able to do considerable execution without heavy loss of life to themselves. The Kurdish chiefs finding themselves worsted withdrew, and no sufficient pressure could be brought to bear upon them to make them renew the contest. The Governor-General of the province, however, with troops and

field pieces, infested the mountains but made no attack, preferring apparently to come into parley with the Armenians. He asked them why they did not submit to the government and pay taxes. Their reply was that they were not at all disloyal to the government, but could not pay taxes twice, to Kurds and to the government. If the Turkish authorities would give protection, they were perfectly willing to pay the taxes. During the winter several of their leaders were invited to Mush but declined to accept.

With the advent of the spring of 1894, the situation became worse. The government decided to make the advance and reiterated its instructions to the Kurdish chiefs to attack the whole section, west of the Mush plain and known now as Sassun, which included about forty villages. They came on every side and practically besieged the whole province. They stole animals, and the result was occasional contests in which one or more on either side fell. On one occasion the Kurds succeeded in securing the bodies of two of their comrades who had been killed, and carried them to the government at the city of Mush, reporting that the whole region was filled with armed men, who were defying the power of the government. Then followed a general attack upon the different villages. The Armenians had the better situation, and defended themselves with considerable success. The Kurds appeared to be unequal to the task of subduing them. The government reinforced them with soldiers, regular troops, but generally in disguise so as to retain as far as possible the appearance of the ordinary contests that had been going on for years between the villagers and the Kurdish chiefs. Reinforced by these men, the Kurdish chiefs spread on every hand. They were assisted by the Turkish troops, not only in

positive attack, but in stratagems the most outrageous. Companies of troops would enter a village, telling the Armenians that they had come for their protection. They were received and quartered in the different houses; then in the night they rose and slew the villagers, men, women, and children. Realizing now the evident intent, the Armenians resolved to fight and sell their lives as dearly as possible. The result was that for nearly three weeks from the latter part of August there was a general campaign of butchery. So bitter was the contest, that the Governor of Mush, fearing that he had not sufficient force at hand, sent word to the general commander of the Turkish forces in Eastern Turkey, whose headquarters were at Erzingan, west of Erzrum, to gather what troops he could, to join with the troops already there, and the Kurds, in the fight.

Word meanwhile had been sent to Constantinople, that all Eastern Turkey was in rebellion, and the Sultan had issued a firman, calling upon his loyal subjects to put down the rebellion at all hazards. This firman was in the hands of the Commander Marshal Zekki Pasha as he came to Mush. He read it before the troops, then placed it upon his breast, and exhorted the men to do their duty. Especially on the last day of August, which was the anniversary of the Sultan's accession to the throne, was this exhortation read, and by every means in his power he roused the troops to the bitterest attack. At this time all pretense of complaint of revolution was thrown aside. Villages against which no charge of disloyalty had ever been made, where there had been no trouble of any sort, suffered equally with those where there had been contests. The receipt of taxes amounted to absolutely nothing. On every hand it was proclaimed that there must be a clean sweep;

that the whole population of the Armenian district must be exterminated. In one village the priest, and some of the leading men, went out to meet the Turkish officer, declaring their loyalty, and begging for mercy. It was all to no avail. The village was surrounded and every man put to death. The stories of individual outrages were such as scarcely can be believed. Private letters, from persons well qualified to know the truth, many of which are quoted in full in "The Armenian Crisis in Turkey," by the Rev. F. D. Greene, give instances almost too terrible for belief. We quote a few:

"A number of able-bodied young Armenians were captured, bound, covered with brushwood and burned alive. A number of Armenians, variously estimated, but less than a hundred, surrendered themselves and pled for mercy. Many of them were shot down on the spot and the remainder were dispatched with sword and bayonet.

"A lot of women, variously estimated from 60 to 160 in number, were shut up in a church, and the soldiers were "let loose" among them. Many of them were outraged to death and the remainder dispatched with sword and bayonet. A lot of young women were collected as spoils of war. Two stories are told. 1. That they were carried off to the harems of their Moslem captors. 2. That they were offered Islam and the harems of their Moslem captors; refusing, they were slaughtered. Children were placed in a row, one behind another, and a bullet fired down the line, apparently to see how many could be despatched with one bullet. Infants and small children were piled one on the other and their heads struck off. Houses were surrounded by soldiers, set on fire, and the inmates forced back into the flames at the point of the bayonet as they tried to escape.

"At Geligozan many young men were tied hand and foot, laid in a row, covered with brushwood and burned alive. Others were seized and hacked to death piecemeal. At another village a priest and several leading men were captured, and promised release if they would tell where others had fled, but, after telling, all but the priest were killed. A chain was put around the priest's neck, and pulled from opposite sides till he was several times choked and revived, after which several bayonets were planted upright, and he raised in the air and let fall upon them.

"The men of one village, when fleeing, took the women and children, some 500 in number, and placed them in a sort of grotto in a ravine. After several days the soldiers found them, and butchered those who had not died of hunger.

"Sixty young women and girls were selected from one village, and placed in a church, when the soldiers were ordered to do with them as they liked, after which they were butchered.

"In another village fifty choice women were set aside and urged to change their faith and become *hanums* in Turkish harems, but they indignantly refused to deny Christ, preferring the fate of their fathers and husbands. People were crowded into houses which were then set on fire. In one instance a little boy ran out of the flames, but was caught on a bayonet and thrown back."

The following stories from survivors of the massacre will give a more vivid picture than any general description:

STORY OF A SURVIVOR OF THE SASSUN MASSACRE.

"My name is Asdadur Giragosian. My home was on the sunny side of a high mountain, in the central village of

the beautiful valley of Geligozan. This valley presents a charming scene when viewed from the top of one of the surrounding mountains, with many villages scattered here and there, and clumps of huge walnut trees between, giving the valley its name, 'Valley of Walnuts.'

"Up to 1894 my family was a prosperous one, as were most of the families of Sassun. The Kurds who lived about us were, on the whole, friendly, though they frequently practiced their habitual business of stealing cattle and sheep, but we were generally able to re-take our own, or others in their place. Our family consisted of twelve members, and we had many cattle and sheep. In the whole village were two hundred families, who possessed in the aggregate more than 15,000 sheep. Of course each of the sixty Armenian villages in the Sassun district (of which 42 are now ruined) had many cattle and sheep.

"In the spring of 1894 the Kurds began to drive away our sheep more boldly than usual. At the same time the government, suspecting that there were many armed revolutionists in Sassun, sent to search for them, but failed to find them. They then wished to arrest some of our notables and take them to Mush as revolutionists, saying, 'You have revolutionary societies here.' We resisted and prevented their taking our men. As I said, the Kurds made several attacks that spring, carrying off our animals, and we pursued them and rescued the animals, killing one or two men, whom we buried so they could not find them. Twice they attacked with this result, but the third time we were not able to bury the two Kurds we killed, and they carried them to Mush and showed them to the government. A great tumult resulted, and it was reported, 'The Armenians of Sassun have rebelled and massa-

cred the Moslem inhabitants.' Also, 'They are armed with rifles and cannon.' The Turkish Government availed itself of the excuse, and instigated the Kurds to attack the Armenian villagers and massacre them. This they attempted to do, a large number attacking us, aided by many soldiers in disguise. But though the Kurds had been well armed by the government, we were able, owing to our superior position, to withstand them successfully for fifteen days. The Kurds were constantly repulsed, leaving many dead and wounded. During this time the Turkish soldiers were being rapidly collected in Mergé-mozan. About twenty-five battalions of soldiers were gathered there. In these fights with the Kurds we lost only seven persons, but three Armenian villages were burned.

"The assembled soldiers now began to attack. One day we heard the sound of their bugles, and for a whole day they continued to advance with great tumult and besieged Geligozan on the sides. The road to a very high mountain named Andok was left open, and we were able to carry our families and animals there, but this in a hasty manner, while fighting with Turkish soldiers. Then the army divided, one part going toward Andok, the other coming toward us. We had already left the village and taken refuge among the rocks above it. Our position enabled us to withstand them all day, but we could see that they had burned the village of Husentsik, near our own. Toward evening they made a fiercer attack and got nearer us. Our ammunition was nearly exhausted, and we began to retreat. They now set fire to our village too, and from a distance, in the dark, we could see it burning. We fled to Andok, where our families and animals had been carried, but seeing that it was not a safe place to stay, we left

it, and after a day's journey over rocks and mountains, towards evening reached a ruined church. Here we passed the night, but in the morning soldiers appeared and we hastened our flight. All our goods and most of our animals we left there. Near evening we reached a mountain named Gala-rash (Black Castle). We were very tired and hungry, but had nothing to eat, so we killed a sheep and ate it. But few of the villagers were to be found, the greater part having fled to other places. From this place we fled in the dark to the neighboring Kurdish village, where our Aghas (chiefs) lived. Before morning we learned that Aghpig was also burned. Our Kurdish Aghas came out from the village to defend us against the soldiers, but did not succeed, and returned to the village, and we were obliged to continue our journey, though tired and thirsty.

"When it was possible to stop, our first care was to find water and kill a sheep for food. The following day we learned that Hedink also was burned. Hearing this we fled to Heghgat, and then to a near mountain. The next morning we heard that Heghgat was burned. We descended from the mountain into a valley up which we slowly retreated, changing our position every day. But on the third day our pursuers appeared, and we left all our sheep and fled with our cattle. Soon we left the cattle too. One of my brothers, Atam, fled with the family, while my other brother, his fifteen-year-old daughter, and I, lagged behind and entered a forest, but when they saw my brother, two soldiers fired and he fell dead. Hearing the noise, the girl cried out and they saw her and shot her dead also. Me they did not find, and towards evening I came out of the forest, and hurrying forward, reached the family and told them of my brother's and his

THE CITY OF HARPUT IN EASTERN TURKEY. This is the eastern portion of the city, somewhat distant from the site occupied by Euphrates College and the mission house. The hill is several hundred feet higher than the plain. Immediately in front with the dome is an Armenian Church. The city of Harput suffered very severely in the massacres.

THE CITY OF AINTAB, NORTHERN SYRIA. In the background is the old citadel. In the center is the Girls' School of the American mission. The building in the foreground gives a very good idea of the way in which the roofs are made. The stone roller is used especially when, after a period of drought, the rain moistens the mud surface of the roofs.

daughter's death. We wept aloud and spent the night disheartened, tired and hungry. In the morning, thinking the soldiers had turned back, we returned to a village to obtain food. I found my brother's body and buried it, but before I had time to bury the girl, the soldiers appeared. My remaining brother fled with the family, but I entered the forest. In the morning I found another refugee in the forest, who was seeking his family. He told me he had killed an ox, but had been obliged to leave it because the soldiers appeared. We were so hungry and faint that we could hardly walk, but we sought the ox and were about cooking some meat when soldiers again appeared.

"So we left the fire, climbed up the mountain, and hid behind some rocks. The soldiers saw us and two of them came to find us. We waited there for a few moments all trembling with terror. Suddenly a soldier appeared, aimed his gun at me and fired, the bullet piercing my leg. The other soldier also fired and pierced my thigh. Then they came up and severely wounded me with their short swords, in the shoulder and thigh. I shut my eyes and they thought me dead, and were about to depart when they saw my companion behind a rock; they fired at him with true aim, and I heard his horrible cry as he fell. Before leaving us, one of the soldiers suspecting I was still living, proposed to cut my body to pieces, but his companion rejected the proposition, objecting that there was no water to wash the swords. So they merely threw some large stones at me, which fortunately did no special harm. When the soldiers were far enough away I spoke to my companion to see if he was living, and he answered very feebly saying he could neither walk nor move, and I was in the same condition. Oh! our distress then! Tired, hungry,

thirsty, severely wounded, we should die in torture, or be the prey of wild beasts. I cried to the soldiers, 'We are still alive, come and put an end to our misery.' I cried but they did not hear me.

"After a while two Armenian fugitives passed by and saw us, and we besought them to carry us to a ruined sheep-cote near by. They were so hungry and weak they could hardly walk, and said they were not able to carry us, but yielding to our entreaties, they made a great effort and carried us there, gave us some water and fresh cheese and departed. We remained there three days, these friends coming to us at night and going away in the morning. We soon saw that this was too dangerous a place to stay, as we constantly heard the sound of guns and bullets passing over our heads. So they transferred us to another ruin, where we were tortured by the heat by day and the cold by night, naked and wounded. Our friends did not do much for us, not believing we could live. After three days my companion's mother came, bringing some millet to cook for us, but going out to get some water, she heard the sound of bugles and fled, but soon returned and cooked it. The next day our brothers came with the woman and tried to cook some wheat, but were again frightened by the sound of the bugles and fled, my brother wishing to carry me with him, but I said, 'It is better for you and the family to escape. I must die.' Toward evening they came back and carried us on their shoulders to another place, where some other families had already taken refuge. Soon they were obliged to leave this place also, fleeing in haste, and left me there. I remained in this dreary place eight days alone with my suffering save that they sometimes brought me a little food. After the eight days we heard that a firman had

come ordering the massacre to cease. The soldiers then drove any fugitives they met, wounded or not, to the ruined villages. I remained thus among the ruins for two months, till my wounds were healed. As soon as I was strong enough, I left the ruins and slowly made my way to Vartenis (an Armenian village on the Mush plain). There I found my wife, but of the rest of the family I know nothing."

With the man whose story is told above was a lad of seventeen years, named Serope Asdadurian, from the village of Mushakhshen, not far from Mush city. His statement shows the state of the region before the date of the massacre.

STORY OF SEROPE ASDADURIAN.

"Our family consisted of fifteen members, of whom four are now living, the others having died by the hands of the Kurds and Turks.

"Before the year 1893 the brother of the celebrated robber chief, Mousa Bey, had abducted the daughter of the head man of our village. After a while the girl was rescued from his hands and married to a young man of Vartenis. In the spring of 1893 she visited her father's house, after which her father wished to send her, under safe escort, to her husband at Vartenis. He besought my father to carry her, and he accepted the charge. On the way fifteen Kurds attacked the party and attempted to carry off the woman, but my father and his companions resisted, and delivered the woman safely to her husband, two of the Kurds being killed in the affray. My father fled to Russia, but soon returned, and for a month or so remained so concealed that no one saw him. After a while, however, it became known that he had returned, and suddenly one day the Mudir (Turkish petty governor) of the

neighboring village surrounded our house with a band of zabtiehs (gendarmes) to seize my father. He knew that to be taken was probably to be killed with tortures, and determined to sell his life as dearly as possible. So when the zabtiehs burst open the door and came in my father killed one of them and rushed out with his rifle. But in his haste he struck his head violently against the frame of the door and fell, nearly dead. One of the zabtiehs fired and killed him. They then killed my mother, my two sisters, my uncle and four cousins. They carried away our cattle and sheep, robbed the house and burned it."

So the crimson storm of carnage rolled on, until not less than thirty villages had been laid waste, so completely destroyed that even the names had been erased from the official records. As to the number of killed it is almost impossible to give accurate estimate. It must have been not less than five or six thousand, many put it much higher. Some soldiers said that a hundred fell to each one of them to dispose of, while others wept because the Kurds did more execution than they. Some, however, claimed to have been unwilling actors in the scene and suffered great mental torments. The wife of one noticed that he failed to pray, as had been his invariable custom. She spoke of it to him and he answered, "God will not hear me. If there is a God he will take vengeance for these awful deeds. Is there any use to pray?" It is also told of other soldiers that on reaching their homes they inquired of Armenian acquaintances, "Who is this Jesus of Nazareth? The Sassun women were constantly calling out to Him."

At last the carnage stopped. The commander-in-chief of the fourth army corps at Erzingan reached the field in time

to save a few prisoners alive and to prevent the extermination of four more villages that were on the list to be destroyed. He then sent a telegram to Constantinople that rebellion had been overcome and that order had been restored in the province. For this he received a medal and the thanks of the Sultan.

CHAPTER XXI.

Politics and Massacre at Constantinople.

Investigation at Sassun—Mr. Gladstone on the Situation—Disturbances in Constantinople—Joint Notes by the Embassies—Plan of Reforms—New English Government—Massacre in Constantinople—Decisive Action of the Embassies—Signing of the Reforms—Subsequent Acts of Defiance—Breach Between England and Russia—Collapse of English Influence.

THE report of the massacres in Sassun aroused a storm of indignation throughout Europe. The British Consul at Van made investigation, confirmed the report of the massacres, which was again confirmed by the local military commander. The British Ambassador at Constantinople sent special officials to make public inquiries, with the result finally that the Turkish Government was informed that prompt, efficient steps must be taken to secure better government in Eastern Turkey, or she would join with European Powers in such intervention as would secure peace and justice for the Armenians. Meanwhile Czar Nicholas had come to the throne, and just what course would be taken by him was not yet evident. There were indications that he would pursue a different policy from his father, more in the line of general liberty and toleration, and there was a widespread feeling that the English demand was practically supported by Russia. A Turkish investigating commission was appointed, but its

personnel was such as to make it open to grave suspicion, and the British Consuls at Erzrum and Van were instructed to watch its course carefully. This suspicion was increased by the fact that the Turkish commander was decorated, and notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the Turkish Government to prevent the spread of news, the worst reports as to the massacres were confirmed all over the empire. At the same time the Turkish Government invited an American representative to attend the commission. President Cleveland declined to do this, but after negotiations with England decided to send, as an independent investigator, Consul Jewett, of Sivas. To this, however, the Turkish Government objected, and refused to give him the traveling papers.

As matters became more clearly understood, reports were spread of a separate commission to represent England, Russia, Austria, France and probably Germany, entirely apart from the commission appointed by the Turkish Government. This general intensity of feeling on the part of Europe aroused considerable anxiety among the Turks, and the result was that a commission was at last appointed with regular representatives of the different European Powers to attend it and insure that its investigations were carried on in an impartial and thorough manner. The anxiety, however, was by no means confined to the government. Throughout the empire word had been spread among the Moslems that the Christians, backed by the European Governments, were planning the overthrow of the Sultan. At the same time the Huntchagists redoubled their efforts. They evidently felt that a point had been reached at which they might make a strike. The result was that disturbances were reported from the whole region of Western Turkey, especially in the

vicinity of Zeitun, Marash and Adana. Destructive fires were started in several cities. The Moslems charged it upon the Armenians, the Armenians retorted the charge upon the Moslems, and the situation rapidly grew more intense even than it had been before. The next step of the Turkish Government was to announce that a new plan of government had been adopted for the districts of Erzrum, Van, Bitlis and Mush. These four were to be made a single province with a Mussulman governor appointed for five years, to be succeeded by Christians, who, however, were not to be Armenians. The gendarmerie were to be recruited from the district and commanded by a general named by the Sultan; local revenues were to be retained by the provinces except one annual contribution to the Porte; judges were to be elected and local ministries of education and public works were to be formed. This was largely as the result of the intense feeling roused in England, which was expressed by Mr. Gladstone in response to a deputation of Armenians from Paris and London on his eighty-fifth birthday, December 29, 1894.

"The history of Turkey has been a sad and painful history. That race has not been without remarkable, and even in some cases, fine qualities, but from too many points of view it has been a scourge to the world, made use of, no doubt, by a wise Providence for the sins of the world. If these tales of murder, violation and outrage be true, then it will follow that they cannot be overlooked, and they cannot be made light of. I have lived to see the Empire of Turkey in Europe reduced to less than one-half of what it was when I was born, and why? Simply because of its misdeeds—a great record written by the hand of Almighty God, in whom the Turk, as a Mo-

hammedan, believes, and believes firmly—written by the hand of Almighty God against injustice, against lust, against the most abominable cruelty; and if—and I hope, and I feel sure, that the government of the Queen will do everything that can be done to pierce to the bottom of this mystery, and to make the facts known to the world—if, happily—I speak hoping against hope—if the reports we have read are to be disproved or to be mitigated, then let us thank God; but if, on the other hand, they be established, then I say it will more than ever stand before the world that there is no lesson, however severe, that can teach certain people the duty, the prudence, the necessity of observing in some degree the laws of decency, and of humanity, and of justice, and that if allegations such as these are established, it will stand as if it were written with letters of iron on the records of the world, that such a government as that which can countenance and cover the perpetration of such outrages is a disgrace in the first place to Mohammed, the Prophet whom it professes to follow, that it is a disgrace to civilization at large, and that it is a curse to mankind. Now, that is strong language.

"Strong language ought to be used when facts are strong, and ought not to be used without strength of facts. I have counselled you still to retain and to keep your judgment in suspense, but as the evidence grows and the case darkens, my hopes dwindle and decline; and as long as I have a voice, I hope that voice, upon occasion, will be uttered on behalf of humanity and truth."

Soon after came the formation of a commission, which was, however, so constituted as not to inspire the greatest confidence, the foreign representatives not being of high rank. However, it was better than nothing, and the general feeling

was that its report would be awaited with interest. Meanwhile there came notices of disturbance elsewhere. There was a rising of the Christians in Albania, and considerable trouble in Bulgaria, where the Russian power was made manifest by the appearance upon the scene of Mr. Zankoff, who had been practically an exile for some time. The commission had started, and by the middle of February was thoroughly established in its work in Mush. On its way to that place it made some interesting discoveries. At the village of Bulanik some of the Armenian villagers came to the European members and reported that Turkish soldiers were at that time engaged in extorting money from villagers by threats of reporting them as rebels. The commission sent a polite invitation to the commander, asking him to come and answer a few questions. Instantly the whole body fled in every direction, evidently supposing that they would not be interfered with. This was a fair illustration of the kind of extortion carried on through the whole of Eastern Turkey. Those who made any difficulty were imprisoned, until it was said that there was scarcely a single Armenian of prominence in the city of Bitlis who was not in prison, while Armenian ecclesiastics of every grade were arrested. This fact also illustrates the nature of the charges of the government with regard to insurrection among the Armenians. At Khnus the commission found some genuine refugees whom they took along with them to Mush.

At the same time attention was diverted to the region of Marash, so far as appears, there was no special charge of insurrection, but a general uprising. The houses of the American missionaries were entered by force and searched for arms, which naturally they did not find. Complaint was sent

to Constantinople and demands were made through the American Legation for protection. Similarly at Nicomedia a French Catholic complained that his domicile had been violated and that he himself had been arrested by the Turks. The French ambassador, standing firm upon the capitulations accorded to his government, demanded the removal of the governor, the punishment of the officers and a public apology to the priest. The Turks objected, but finally yielded. Even Constantinople was not safe. An American citizen passing through the streets, only a short distance from the Sultan's palace, was stabbed and killed by a Turkish soldier, who had also seriously wounded sixteen others. A day or two later another Turk in a theatre got into a quarrel with an Englishman and endeavored to kill him. The Englishman escaped, but a student friend who rose to defend him, was struck down with a single blow of the Turk's knife. The chief value of these incidents was that the government made every effort to excuse the criminals, and would give no punishment except under pressure. The official statement as to the man who murdered the American was, that the soldier had got into a quarrel with one of his comrades and merely stabbed the sixteen Christians on the supposition that they were trying to catch him. The absurdity of this is evident from the fact that one of them was an Armenian girl, standing on the steps of her own home; another was a milkman, whom the soldier asked, "Are you a Christian or a Moslem?" and on being told that he was a Moslem let him go.

For some weeks there was no special change in the situation, though the relations between Turks and Christians were constantly more serious, so that the council of the Armenian Patriarchate at Constantinople presented a memorial to the

Sultan, urging him to cease the constant ill treatment which the Armenians suffered at the hands of the Turkish officers. It was not surprising that the memorial was returned with a request that it be modified in form. How needful it was, however, was manifest from the following facts reported from a city a short distance from Constantinople. An Armenian pastor and teacher were arrested and imprisoned on the charge of having seditious letters, which letters, when read, were shown to be simply private correspondence. One man was imprisoned for two weeks because his name suggested a similarity to an address to which a telegram was sent saying, "Come at once." An Armenian was forced to sell his house at only a trifle over half value, because a pasha wanted it for one of his wives. A traveler happening to meet an official on the road was turned back and imprisoned for a week on no charge whatever, and released only on the payment of three Turkish pounds. These are but illustrations of what was going on near Constantinople. In the region of Dersim, north of Sivas and Harput, the Kurds seemed to have made special effort to search for proofs of sedition. In two villages papers were found stating that a certain order for arms had been filled and forwarded. No weapons were discovered, however, and subsequently a Turk confessed that he had himself forged the papers. Notwithstanding this, fifty people, thirty from one village, were imprisoned, of whom a number died. Everywhere throughout Asia Minor the Christians were in constant fear of the Turks, who were stirred by their priests to provide themselves with arms in order to be ready for any emergency, which the priests assured them would come as the result of the efforts of the Christians, supported by European powers,

to overthrow the Turkish Government. For a time there seemed to be hope of better things. The Turkish Government revoked some of its appointments of notoriously unfit men, and the commission at Mush were making increasing reports of the situation, which aroused repeated and indignant protests throughout Europe. It became apparent that the moral sense of the Christian Powers was awake, and the Porte understood very well that that could not be ignored. The British Government had definitely announced its intention to secure protection for Christians throughout the empire. At the same time United States cruisers arrived on the coast, and in interviews with the Turkish governors made it very apparent that protection to Americans must be secured. The immediate result of this was the release of a large number of ecclesiastics who had been confined in various fortresses, and who, though for some time under surveillance in Constantinople, were practically at liberty. The summer thus passed by with a generally better condition and there were strong hopes that reforms would actually be instituted, especially as reports came that Great Britain, France and Russia had united in a joint note to the Porte, stating the reforms which they insisted upon for the better conduct of the government in the interior. A complete statement of these reforms is hardly necessary here. In the main they followed the line of the different promises that had been made previously. Among the most important provisions were the following:

"A High Commissioner, appointed with the assent of the Powers, is to have general supervision over the whole empire, with the assistance of a commission sitting in Constantinople; the provinces of Eastern Turkey are to have Mohammedan

or Christian governors, according to the preponderance of population, the vice-governor to be of different faith from the governor; taxes are to be collected by local and municipal agents instead of by soldiers or treasury agents, and the provinces are to retain enough funds for their own administration, and send the balance to Constantinople; there is to be a general amnesty for crimes and offences other than those against the common law; pending political trials are to stop and the prisoners are to be released; imprisonment without special warrant is forbidden and speedy trial assured, together with release in case of acquittal; the number of Christian judges is to be increased in proportion to the Christian population; Christians are to serve equally with Moslems in the gendarmerie; conversion to Islam by force is forbidden, and general freedom of religious confession is to be secured; the powers of magistrates are to be extended, and the local courts are to be under the supervision of a delegation from the Court of Appeals."

The position taken by the Ottoman Government with regard to these reforms was not such as to inspire much of hope. Answer was long delayed; furthermore, there was a change of ministry, the new Grand Vizier being one well known as anti-English in his policy and warmly supporting Russia. The one selected as Minister of Foreign Affairs was also president of the commission to investigate the Sassun massacre.

Meanwhile trouble had arisen in Arabia, there being attacks upon the English, French and Russian Consuls at Jeddah. The whole Moslem world seemed to be on the verge of an outbreak. The British Government was strengthening its garrisons in the Mediterranean and in Egypt, and there was a very general belief that it was ready to take ex-

treme steps, even to the extent of occupying the Dardanelles, and perhaps the Bosporus in case of necessity. At last the reply of the Turkish Government came, acceding to the general principle of control by the Powers of the plan of reforms, but asking that the period be limited to three years. As if, however, to complicate matters still more, reports came of an uprising in Macedonia. Bulgarian emissaries had apparently been at work among their brethren under Turkish rule, exciting revolt and urging annexation. The result was manifest in incursions across the mountains, and notice was given by the Bulgarian Government that it might be compelled to take decisive action with regard to the disturbances. Underneath all this there was generally recognized to be Russian, and perhaps Austrian influence, so that the general situation was uncertain in the extreme.

Just at this time, in July, came the overthrow of the liberal government in England, and the return of the conservatives to power. Hitherto the conservative policy toward Turkey had always been aggressive, and every one expected that tradition would be respected. In anticipation of this, the Sultan's Government sent conciliatory answers in regard to reforms, stating that they proposed to apply them to the entire empire; appoint Christian assessors to assist provincial governors; make the selection of under-officials from both Mussulmans and Christians, improve prisons, check the excesses of Kurds, etc. In Tarsus a mob attacked the building of St. Paul's Institute, and in other portions of the country there was manifest a great deal of tension of feeling. The Huntchagists again stirred themselves, and in Marsovan murdered two prominent Armenians, one a Protestant, the other a Gregorian. They also committed various murders in Constanti-

nople, and threatened the life of the Patriarch because he refused to endorse their scheme for absolute independence. About this time also became increasingly manifest the bitter feeling on the part of the Turks themselves against their own government. Reports spread for the past year by the Moslem priests that the Sultan's rule was in danger, and that the Christians were planning to overcome the Moslem power, combined with the increasing taxation and the great injustice from which in many sections of the empire Moslems suffered not less than Christians, stirred the Young Turkey Party to an increasing degree of bitterness. Just to what extent this party was organized it has never been possible to learn; that remains for the future historian. It is, however, a fact that everywhere throughout the empire there was hostility not merely against the Christians, but against the Turkish Government for its failure to do justice to the Moslems even at the expense of Christians. Just at this time came Mr. Gladstone's famous address at Chester, in which he summed up very clearly the situation; under the treaty of 1856 the Powers of Europe had a right, clear and indisputable, to march into the country and take the government of it out of the hands of the Turks; England had a special right under the treaty of 1878 (the Cyprus Convention) and a special duty, from the fact that the making of promises in treaties carries with it the obligation to compel the keeping of the promises; the whole situation, therefore, he summed up in the three words: *coercion*, *must* and *ought*. The last he claimed had absolutely no meaning; *must*, he said, is fairly understood, but the first is the one that is thoroughly appreciated.

One of the first manifestations of spirit of the new English Government was the sending of an English fleet to the vicin-

THE CITY OF GUMUSHKHANE, on the road from Trebizond to Erzrum in Eastern Turkey. The city derives its name from the silver (gumush) mines, from which ore is taken for the artisans in Trebizond and Constantinople. The buildings are of a much better class than are usually to be found in Eastern Turkey, and indicate the prosperity of the place.

VIEW IN THE CITY OF TABRIZ, NORTHERN PERSIA; in some respects as typical a Turkish city as any in Turkey. It gives a good illustration of the style of building. A Moslem procession is passing in the street and the women and children are gathered on the roofs looking over the parapets. In summer the people bring their beds upon the roofs to sleep on account of the extreme heat.

ity of the Dardanelles and there was a general feeling that aggressive action would be taken. Here, however, appeared a new phase. Having practically accepted the principle of European control, the Sultan now denounced it, saying that it was derogatory to his dignity and that it would endanger his own control over his empire. In this connection also he made complaint to France and Russia of the position taken by England. They indeed did not give him encouragement, but from this time it became questionable whether the concert of the three Powers which had been supposed to be firm was really so. Meanwhile relief work had been going on and a special commission had been sent into Eastern Turkey to manage the question of relief. This will be referred to later, but reference must be made to it here to show the peculiar situation in which England was placed. She was manifesting her deepest sympathy with the Armenians, was apparently taking steps to coerce the Sultan and had made, or was on the point of making, propositions for his deposition. So far as appears, she was doing all that could possibly be expected. The next step was equally strong. It was asserted that, in an interview with the Turkish ambassador at London, Lord Salisbury had announced that the refusal on the part of the Turkish Government to execute Article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin would be the signal of the dismemberment of the empire. This was indeed denied the next day, but it was generally believed to be virtually true, and the immediate issuing by the Sultan of a note stating the concessions he was willing to make with regard to the administration of the eastern provinces of his empire indicated that some extra pressure had been brought to bear upon him. Those concessions were not of remarkable char-

acter, merely in the line of what had repeatedly been said and repeatedly promised. It was evident, however, that there was increasing uneasiness throughout the empire. Next came reports that Russia and France had intimated their acceptance of the Sultan's proposals, while Great Britain insisted that they were incomplete. Fresh outrages were said to have started up throughout the empire. Despatches from the region of Erzingan spoke of a band of brigands attacking a company of Turkish soldiers, whereupon the authorities decided that the assailants were Armenian revolutionaries, and sent a force of 1,000 Turks to the Armenian village of Kemakh, the result being that five villages were pillaged, several thousand persons rendered homeless, men tortured, women and children assaulted and four monasteries attacked. There were also reports of an organization among the Turkish minor officials to attack the Christians on every hand if the government should definitely accept the scheme of reforms. For a couple of weeks there was apparent quiet, when the civilized world was astounded by the report of a massacre in Constantinople itself.

The long delay in effecting any result favorable to good order in Turkey from the negotiations respecting reform gave opportunity for the Huntchagists. At the same time the Turks were exasperated by the long continuance of the English fleet near the Dardanelles. The Armenians said that England and Russia had quarrelled. The Turks were inclined to believe also that there was weakness and fear on the part of the English, else the passage of the Dardanelles would be risked. Then came reports of all sorts. The Huntchagists circulated a story that the English Ambassador desired to have a few Armenians killed in the streets of

Constantinople in order to have an excuse for bringing in the fleet. On Monday, October 1st, a procession of Armenians was formed, including perhaps 200, some armed with revolvers, but the greater part entirely peaceable men, and even those who were armed were for the most part ignorant of the use of their weapons. They started to the offices of the Sublime Porte to present their petition for relief from the terrible oppression under which their nation was suffering. Such petition was entirely in accord with the time-honored customs of Turkey. It was, however, not difficult to give it an illegal appearance, and taken in connection with various threats, it is scarcely surprising that the Turkish Government was alarmed. The police were drawn up hastily and the Armenians were ordered to disperse. In some way or other firing commenced, the Turks say by the Armenians, the Armenians charge it upon the Turks. There was an attack upon the men by the police and a number of persons were killed before the procession was broken up. Once started, however, the disturbance was not easily stopped. It spread through different parts of the city. The Softas gathered from their Mosques and started on a riot through the streets armed with clubs. They attacked any Armenians they could find, knocking them down, wounding them severely and sometimes killing them; even attacking those who were already prisoners in the hands of the police. Through all that day and night and the next day this situation continued. During Tuesday night a number of attacks on Armenians in their lodging-places were made and from 70 to 80 were thus killed in cold blood. The whole number of killed is estimated at about 200 and most of them absolutely innocent of any action hostile to the government. The Turks, how-

ever, were thirsting for Christian blood and the Armenians were in a panic. The government sent for the Armenian Patriarch, but told him that none of his followers would be permitted to accompany him. He therefore declined the invitation and remained at his palace, where he was practically imprisoned, together with a large number of Armenians. In the main streets for two or three days there was apparently no difficulty, but on a side street it was not safe for an Armenian to be seen. The panic spread into the European quarter and 21 Armenian laborers at the glass works in Pera were killed. Multitudes took refuge in the churches, and in one case an effort was made to break through the walls, apparently to allow the Moslems free entrance to the church. Under the lead of the British Ambassador the foreign representatives acted promptly. The Dragoman of the English Embassy, under orders from Sir Philip Currie, visited the patriarchate to express sympathy with the Armenians. Sir Philip insisted upon the prompt acceptance of the scheme of reforms and demanded that every effort be made to restore order. For several days, however, it was impossible to persuade the terror-stricken Armenians to leave the churches where they were taking refuge, and it was not until the ambassadors sent their own officials to the churches, giving their personal pledges for safety, that the churches were cleared and quiet was re-established in the city. Just at this time there came a change in the government and Said Pasha gave place to Kiamil Pasha, one of the ablest statesmen Turkey has ever known, and who was identified with the best interests of the empire. This, however, was attended by the sending to the Softas from the Sultan's palace of several hundred sheep and a quantity of delicacies as a

reward for their loyalty. The flame once started in Constantinople, spread rapidly throughout the empire. The record of the massacres is contained in the following chapters. We confine ourselves here to a general survey of the political events following, until March, 1896.

The immediate result of the disturbance at Constantinople politically was the approval and signing by the Sultan of the scheme approved by the embassies for reforms in Turkey by the Sultan. This aroused great opposition among the Moslems in Constantinople and corresponding delight throughout the empire. It was not certain, however, what the general result would be. The Sultan claimed that it was done under compulsion and evidently cared very little about the reforms being carried out. At the same time came threats of the assassination of the Sultan on the part of the Albanian guards in the palace, and the general situation in the capital being serious, the embassies made a demand for additional guardships for their own protection and the protection of the foreign residents. Further than this there was no indication of positive action on the part of the European Powers, and the conviction grew rapidly that a breach had formed between Russia and England and that nothing practical would be done. With the constantly repeated reports of massacres throughout the empire and the increased demands of the foreign Powers came another change in the ministry. Kiamil Pasha was summarily and very harshly dismissed and ordered to Aleppo. He appealed for protection to the ambassadors and receiving some support was sent to Aldin, a more favorable post.

The most significant item in the early part of November was a speech by Lord Salisbury, at the Lord Mayor's ban-

quet, in which he expressed the hope that the Sultan would grant justice to the Armenians and secure their prosperity, peace and safety, but intimated very clearly that if he did not, it would be the ruin of his empire. The fact that this was coincident with the sending of the French Mediterranean squadron to the Levant and the massing of the Russian troops through the Caucasus, gave an impression that positive intervention was nearer than at any time before. It was asserted in the English papers that a joint ultimatum would be presented to the Sultan transferring the internal government to persons trusted by the Powers, and that in case of refusal the combined squadrons would advance on Constantinople. On the other hand, the Sultan was reported as terrified at the increasing bitterness against him on the part of the Turks; as improving every opportunity to decorate and advance men who had been identified with the outrages, and in general as holding an attitude of defiance. The time passed by, however, with no positive action. News came of massacres at Harput, Marash, Aintab and elsewhere, with increasing proofs of the complicity, to say the least, of the Turkish authorities. The man who was more than any other identified with the worst oppression in the province of Van was made governor of Aleppo, and there seemed to be on every side a condition of chaos. Some defended the Sultan, claiming that while he would be glad to stop the disturbances, he was powerless, the movement having become a popular movement and having gone clear beyond any ability of his to check it. The next phase was the discussion in regard to the admission of the guardships. The demand was entirely within the rights of the embassies, but the Sultan hesitated on the ground that it would exasperate

the Moslem communities, and the European Governments hesitated to press the point. The result was, that more and more it became evident that there was on the one hand no cordial, united action between the European Governments, and on the other that the disturbances throughout the empire were under the direct orders of the Turkish Government. A significant event was the fleeing of the ex-Grand Vizier, Said Pasha, to the British Embassy for protection, on the ground that his life was in danger. He was kept there for some time and only left on specific assurance from the Sultan himself. Meanwhile on every hand reports of the situation in the interior increased in seriousness, but the government persistently denied them and spread the most atrocious lies with regard to the whole state of the country; declared that in every case the Armenians had risen in defiance of the Turkish Government, and that where massacre had been reported there was simply a little disturbance.

The close of the year 1895 found everything in the empire in a state of uncertainty. The fleets had withdrawn, and there seemed to be no plan of action on the part of the various Powers, while the Turkish Government was doing its best by repeated falsehoods to arouse the Moslem populace to a high pitch of exasperation. At the same time the Turkish army was suffering from lack of pay, soldiers not receiving their wages and having no clothing or adequate food. A revolt of the Druzes in Syria called a large number of troops to the south, but it was difficult to secure military discipline among them. Meanwhile the widespread destitution resulting upon the massacres had called the earnest attention of Europe and of America, and appeals were made for assistance. This was at first refused by the Turkish Government, which would not

even permit the Red Cross to enter the country, claiming that there was no war and no necessity; that the story of sufferings had been greatly exaggerated, and that the whole thing was the direct result of Armenian revolution. The month of January passed without any special change. The guardships were admitted, but the long delay had deprived the matter of any great significance. Then came reports of the secret treaty between Russia and Turkey, by which Russia would guarantee the Sultan's Government and in turn receive free passage for her fleets through the straits, which would be closed by Turkey to other nations. These reports were officially denied, but it was generally believed that there was basis for them. Early in February the report of the commission investigating the massacre at Sassun were issued. The actual statements confirmed the story of the outrages, showed that no steps were taken by troops to stop the Kurds, that in fact the soldiers and Kurds alike were the authors of the burning of entire villages; they also showed that there was no proof of revolt on the part of the Armenians. In the middle of February, Parliament assembled, and in the speech from the throne, which sets forth the general policy of the government, was the following clause in reference to Turkey:

"The Sultan of Turkey has sanctioned the principal reforms in the government of the Armenian provinces, for which, jointly with the Emperor of Russia and the President of the French Republic, I have felt it to be my duty to press. I deeply regret the fanatical outbreak on the part of a section of the Turkish population which has resulted in a series of massacres which have caused the deepest indignation in this country."

This clause aroused very strong criticism by the liberals,

but Lord Salisbury claimed that it was impossible for the government to have done more, and intimated distinctly that Russia and France had refused to co-operate, and had distinctly said that they would resist any attack on the part of England to bring coercion to bear on the Turkish Empire.

CHAPTER XXII.

Massacres at Trebizond and Erzrum.

Importance and General Prosperity of Both Cities—Threats by the Turks—Terror Among the Armenians—Suddenness of the Attacks—Murder and Pillage by Regular Soldiers, Under the Eye of Foreign Consuls—Ferocity of the Turks—Testimony of Eye-Witnesses—Terrible Scenes at the Burial of the Victims.

THE city of Trebizond is one of the most beautifully situated in the Turkish Empire. On the eastern end of the Black Sea, occupying the southern slope of a picturesque range of mountains, which extends all the way from Constantinople to the Persian border, it has been since the time of Xenophon one of the most important places of the region. For centuries it was the starting-point of caravans to Persia, and all the Persian trade passed through its harbor, notwithstanding that that scarcely deserved the name, being little more than an open roadstead. The city itself has grown far beyond the original bounds, and there has seemed to be less of that fear which compelled the crowding together of the houses. Up the valleys of the mountains, and along the coast on either side, there extend gardens and vineyards, with many pleasant residences. Its population of about 45,000 is divided between Turks, Armenians and Greeks, the Turks being in a bare majority, and the Armenians somewhat outnumbering the Greeks. There are also consular representatives of the principal European countries, as well as of the United States. Up till within a few years trade has been brisk and the people acquired a reputation throughout the

East for shrewdness of dealing. After the treaty of Berlin, and the occupation of Batum by the Russians, considerable trade that had formerly passed through Trebizond was diverted to Batum, and the wagons of the Circassians took the place of the mule and horse caravans of the overland route by way of Erzrum and Van. An effort was made to relieve the situation by the building of a very good carriage road over the mountain, south to Erzrum, a distance of about 180 miles. But the increasing disturbances in the region of Van, and over the mountains to Khoi and Tabriz proved more than an offset for the building of the road, and trade once diverted could to only a limited degree be brought back again into the old channel. Thus Trebizond has lost not a little of its importance. It is still, however, a city of considerable influence and its people are looked upon with more or less suspicion by the Turkish Government. Its proximity to Russia brought it within reach of the Russian Armenian agitators, and although the general tone of the Armenian community was thoroughly conservative there was sufficient noise made to create an impression of disturbance. The events in Constantinople narrated in the previous chapter created excitement all over the empire, and it was natural that in Trebizond the feeling should be quite intense.

About October 2d, two days after the disturbance in Constantinople, an Armenian, supposed to be a revolutionist, made a personal attack upon Bahri Pasha, the former governor of Van, who had been dismissed in consequence of the pressure brought to bear by the English Government after the disturbances at Sassun. It was said that the attack was purely a personal matter, the man seeking vengeance for injustice done to himself and his family in the city of Van. The

Turks, however, took for granted that it was another move in the same line as that at Constantinople and the disturbances early in the year at Marsovan. Coincident with this was the arrival of the news from Constantinople and the excitement on every hand was greatly increased. The Turks seemed to believe that all the Armenians were banded together and in armed rebellion against the government, represented that they were afraid of an attack from the Armenians, and even in some cases took measures to put their families in places of safety.

On Friday night, October 4th, there were extensive movements of armed men on the streets. At about 11 o'clock they seemed to disperse and nothing specially worthy of mention occurred through the night. On Saturday night, Oct. 5th, the excitement in town was very intense. The European Consuls had a consultation and going in a body to the governor, earnestly pressed him to arrest those who were exciting the people to acts of outrage. This he declined to do, but promised in his own way to do the right thing. Until Monday, Oct. 7th, matters seemed to be quieting down when an incident stirred up the excitement anew. On the previous Friday night, the son of a leading Turk of the town was wounded on the street, some say by one of his companions, others that he was shot by an Armenian whom he was trying to arrest. On Monday he died and the funeral revived the excitement in an intensified form, and loud and many were the threats of massacre that night, and hundreds of the Armenians rushed to places of safety. Nothing occurred, perhaps, on account of rain. The next morning, October 8th, all dispersed in the hope that the danger was past. Men went to their shops, and were encouraged to open them

as they had not done for two or three previous days. Suddenly, like a clap of thunder in a clear sky, the blow fell at about 11 A. M., Oct. 8th. Unsuspecting people walking along the streets were shot ruthlessly down. Men standing or sitting quietly at their shop doors were instantly dropped with a bullet through their heads or hearts. Their aim was deadly and there were few, if any, wounded men. Some were slashed with swords until life was extinct. They passed through the quarters where only old men, women and children remained, killing the men and large boys, generally permitting the women and younger children to live. For five hours this horrid work of inhuman butchery went on, the cracking of musketry, sometimes like a volley from a platoon of soldiers, but more often single shots from near and distant points, the crashing in of doors, and the thud, thud, of sword blows sounded on the ear.

Then the sound of musketry died away and the work of looting began. Every shop of an Armenian in the market was gutted, and the victors in this cowardly and brutal war loaded themselves with the spoils. For hours bales of broadcloth, cotton goods and every conceivable kind of merchandise passed along without molestation to the houses of the spoilers. The intention evidently was to impoverish, and as near as possible to blot out the Armenians of the city. So far as appearances went the police and soldiers distinctly aided in this savage work. They were mingled with the armed men, and so far as could be seen, made not the least effort to check them. Apparently they took care to see that the right ones—that is, Armenians, were killed; also that an offer of surrender might be made to all that were found unarmed. To any found with arms no quarter was given, but large numbers were shot

down without any proffer of this kind. This talk of surrender would seem to be on the supposition that all were in an attitude of resistance. One poor fellow when called on to surrender, thought he was called on to give up his religion, and when he refused he was hacked to pieces in the presence of his wife and children. The next day the city was in a great stir because news had come that the village Armenians, thoroughly armed, were on their way to attack the town. The real fact, however, seemed to be that the massacre was extending to the villages, though the constant effort was to show that this affair was only the quelling of an insurrection—like Sassun. Not one of the perpetrators of these outrages was arrested or disarmed, but all moved about with the utmost freedom to accomplish their nefarious purposes. On the other hand many of the Armenians were in prison.

The following account of the experience of an agent of the American Bible Society, who had been in the service for many years, and was a most valued man, will give an idea of the situation.

Krikor was at the government building, getting his passport to return, when the massacre began. He was with three others, and when the soldiers endeavored to put them out into the street, he refused to go, showing his special passport from Constantinople as a reason why he should not go. Two of his companions were instantly killed; the third was saved by Greeks who hid him two days in a trough of bread. But Krikor was able to delay a little by showing his passport. He then remonstrated with the guard, giving him at the same time a lira ($4.40). This did not conquer the guard, who still continued to threaten him. But a second lira was more effective, and Krikor remained He demanded to see the

Pasha, but was told he was busy at the telegraph office, where, in fact, he remained in constant communication with Constantinople during the entire massacre.

Another guard ordered him off, and was bought off like the first, but he took Krikor into the court near the prison. Here were soldiers who were threatening him when a Turk appeared who, though he did not know him, was influenced by mercy and immediately took charge of him. This Turk, an official in the prison, went with him to the "Bekje," a doorkeeper, saying to him, "This man is a friend of mine, a Turk, but he resembles an Armenian so much that he is afraid to go on the street lest he may be killed; you look after him." This the "Bekje" did, and although through the afternoon many Turks came and glared at him, he was unmolested. Finally a clerk who knew him came by and said, "This is an infidel; why do you allow him to remain here?" Krikor had presence of mind to say, "No, it is you who are an infidel; get out of here," and the man slunk away. After dusk the friendly Turk came again to him, and took him into the prison, where he found a number of other Armenians, most of them officials in the Government House. Here he guarded them for two days—false alarms of death coming often, keeping them in constant fear.

Finally, at night, the friendly Turk came in and took him out with him, going by a roundabout way to Mr. Parmelee's house, where he was safe under the American flag. Here he remained with some 150 others, for 10 days. At last his Turkish friend succeeded in getting him a passport to return to Constantinople, and when he first reached home he could not speak a word for joy. Some of the richest Armenians in Trebizond reached Constantinople in rags and poverty—so

wretched that even their own friends did not recognize them at first.

From Trebizond the wave of excitement spread southward, following the line of the road to Erzrum. The first place reached was the city of Gumushkhanê, famous for the silver mines from which it received its name, and which furnished the ore for the silversmiths of Trebizond and Constantinople. As in most mining districts the population was turbulent, and easily aroused. Details of the strife are wanting, at least such as furnish the basis of a reliable statement, but in general it is known that the Christian quarter of the city was practically destroyed.

From Gumushkhané the tide swept on to Baiburt, a thriving city of perhaps 15,000 inhabitants, Turks and Armenians. At Baiburt the road to Erzingan, the military headquarters for the whole region, branches off from that to Erzrum, and another gathers the trade of the Valley of Chorok. The Paiburt Armenians were noted for their intense national feeling and a vigor of character that frequently held the Turks in check. They were also regarded as among the shrewdest and most unscrupulous of their race. It was therefore to be expected that the Turks should take advantage of the general excitement to put down the men whom they hated and feared. The outbreak at Gumushkhanê had occurred three days after the massacre at Trebizond, and two days later still the blow fell upon Baiburt. Here again there are few details available, but the Constantinople correspondent of the London *Times*, who had the best sources of information, estimated the number of killed at 1,000.

After the disturbances at Trebizond and these two places, all eyes turned to Erzrum, about eighty miles southeast of

Lord Ashbourne. Marquis of Lansdowne.
Lord James. Sir M. W. Ridley. Mr. Chaplin. Lord Balfour. C. T. Ritchie.
A. J. Balfour. Lord Halsbury. M. H. Beach. Mr. Goschen.
Joseph Chamberlain. Lord Hamilton. Duke of Devonshire. Lord Cross. Earl Cadogan.
Lord Salisbury.

COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN REGARDING THE ARMENIAN QUESTION.

SQUARE OF THE ATMEIDAN AND MOSQUE OF ST. SOPHIA, IN CONSTANTINOPLE. On the left is an obelisk from Luxor, Egypt, and on the right is the column of serpents whose three heads formed the tripod in which the priestess sat who uttered the famous oracles in Delphi, Greece. The mosque is the most interesting building in Constantinople, famous for its mosaics and pillars, many of which came from the temple of Diana at Ephesus.

Baiburt. The city of Erzrum has been throughout the rule of the Turks the most important and influential city of Eastern Turkey. It has been a trade center, being the meeting-place of the various routes from the eastern end of the Black Sea to Persia, Bagdad and Central Asia Minor. It has also been the seat of the Governor-General of the Province, though the largest military force is at Erzingan, about ninety miles west, largely on account of the necessity of keeping the mountainous section occupied by the Dersim Kurds in order. It was thus the seat of consulates of the different European Powers interested in Eastern Turkey, chiefly England, Russia and France. Situated on a high plateau about 6,000 feet above the sea and surrounded by high mountains, the climate is very severe and the winters' cold and summers' heat are intense. Its proximity to the Russian border has made it the object of attack in the different Russo-Turkish wars and twice, in 1829 and 1878, it fell into Russian hands, being released only by special treaty stipulations. In the Crimean war it was saved by General Williams's heroic defense of Kars. Of its population, estimated at 40,000, the Turks formed the great majority, though the Armenian community was strong, both in numbers, wealth and character.

Next to Van, Erzrum has been looked upon by the Armenians as belonging peculiarly to them, and as was natural the revolutionary party sought to exert their influence in it. That they so signally failed is but another proof of the inherent weakness of the movement and the general conservatism of the nation in regard to aggressive action against the Turkish Government. There was, however, much anxiety, and the tension of feeling between the two races had increased greatly. Only a spark was needed to start the Turks, while

some Armenians were doubtless ready to begin, though in a city where they number 10,000 and the Mussulmans 30,000, including a large number of soldiers, it was sure to turn against the 10,000, who were, besides, almost all unarmed. For some days the Turks had been threatening to kill the Christians. Heroes from the Trebizond massacre, from the pillaging at Baiburt, from Erzingan and Kemakh, and from other places had come to Erzrum as the most likely place for another similar game. These men had boasted how much they had got, and all had the gold fever.

The time had been set several times, but nothing had been done and the Armenians had been induced to think that much of the threatening was mere words. The police patrol was very strong and apparently every means was used to preserve peace. Consequently the Armenians were all in their places when suddenly, shortly after noon on Wednesday, October 30th, the cry was raised, "They have commenced firing in the market."

A mob of Turks including many soldiers was seen running towards the market, firing right and left into the houses, from a few of which the fire was returned. The resident American missionary, Mr. Chambers, had been to the post-office to send a telegram to Bitlis to the Americans to say that all was right in Erzrum, and to inquire how they were. On his way back through the long, straggling market he noticed a general uneasiness. Then he passed an Armenian who was running from one shop to the other telling his brethren to close their shops and run, for the firing would soon commence. But he had heard such words as these so many times that he paid no particular attention to them. Farther down in the markets he saw some shops already closed and some being locked

up as he passed. But this had been done before, and several merchants had moved a large part of their best goods up to the mission building to be stored, until every corner was full. He passed on, walking rapidly, and before the Archbishop's house he saw a certain Murad having some trouble with a young and excited Turk. Evidently Murad had just taken away a dagger from him and given it back after some words. Mr. Chambers overheard an Armenian say, "He's given it back to him." This Murad, it was said on very good authority, had killed a number of Christians in the riots of 1890 in Erzrum. He was a police officer who watched every stranger that came to Erzrum; but on this occasion he behaved well, for in his quarter, which was thronged with Armenian shops, the mob was unable to commit any violence.

Mr. Chambers walked on for five minutes from the spot where he had seen Murad, when he heard shots behind him. The people began to run, and he followed suit. Some friends told him afterward that the Turks had fired at him, but he did not know whether it was the mob or the soldiers. He met one of the patrols of 20 soldiers, under command of an officer, who were supposed to keep the peace. These men had drawn their revolvers and were shooting right and left down the street and into the windows. The bullets whistled unpleasantly near to Mr. Chambers, who walked on until he was safe at his home in the mission building. All this time a perfect fusilade was going on, mostly in the direction of the bazaar. In the extreme western part of the city a large fire had broken out, the smoke of which drifted across the large barracks that are situated in that part of the city. There seven Armenians resisted the attack of the soldiers, who fired on them, riddled

the house with bullets, and then set fire to it, and it continued to burn for 20 hours.

The attack was simultaneous on different sections of the city where Armenians resided. Whenever an Armenian appeared and the soldiers (who did by far the most of the killing, as well as plundering) could get a shot at him or cut him down with sword or dagger, they did so. The doors of the houses were broken open by force and the contents of the houses carried off. Everything that could not be carried off was destroyed. Boxes and furniture were broken to pieces. Pepper and pickles were mixed with flour that could not be removed, and the bread, often the provision for a week, was thrown on the floor and stamped to dust. As if to be sure that it would not be eaten by the hungry, a jar of pickled cabbage, or something of that kind, would be broken over it and trampled into it. As if the soldiers could not carry off all they wanted, a number of women attended them and carried off the plunder. An eye-witness reports that in one street he saw some officers lead a detachment of soldiers to two Armenian houses; the commanding officers themselves broke open the doors, entered and looted the whole house, stripping it completely. All through the afternoon and evening the suspense was intense. In the beautiful moonlight the Turks could be seen carrying away the plunder, while occasionally a volley of shots rang out on the night air.

All day Thursday the disturbance continued, though in somewhat less degree. An Armenian, speaking of his experience on that day, said that in the morning the soldiers entered his house. He and his family were driven out. The soldiers rifled the old man's pockets, took his watch and chain, but did not harm him. A soldier on the roof told the son to stand

still or he would shoot him. But he dodged quickly under the lee of the wall and ran for the British Consulate, which he succeeded in reaching. Later he saw the same soldier, who had threatened to shoot him if he moved, acting as a special guard at the Italian Consulate. One of the guard before the English Consulate asked him sarcastically, "Which Consulate is this?" "The British," was the reply. "And this?" "The Italian." "Well, where's the Armenian Consulate? You were going to have a kingdom (beylik); you got a 'beylik' yesterday." In rifling the village of Purnagaban, a prominent Armenian, after being seized by the soldiers, with the naked sword at his breast, was asked, "You wanted a 'beylik;' here's your 'beylik.'" Another Armenian told how the soldiers on Thursday morning had taken his watch and rifled his pockets. The "dragoman" of the British Consulate, who had gone up to the Government House just before the massacre began, told his experience. He was with one of the "cavasses." On their way he heard an officer speak roughly to an unruly Turk as follows:—"Can't you keep quiet now; wait until it begins and then you can do what you like." In many places on the long way up he saw the soldiers all drawn up ready for the massacre. At the Serai he found not an official, which was very remarkable as this was a very busy time. All the lower officials were away. Both he and the "cavass" saw the storm brewing and hastened to return. They were about half-way, near an open market where fruit and grain and wood are sold, when the soldiers began to fire on the defenseless people. He relates that he saw one Armenian run up to a Turkish officer, throw his arms round him and beseech him to save him, but the officer pushed him away from him with both hands, drew his revolver, and shot him. Another, a black-

smith, they beat over the head with clubs as he ran until he fell, and then three soldiers standing within a few feet of him fired three bullets into him. One of them who looked at the body a moment saw the convulsive movements, and said to his companions, "Look, the dog isn't dead yet; look, look." For two hours the dragoman saw this from a safe place. The soldiers did the work, shooting every Christian they could see.

In the afternoon Mr. Chambers, with the English and Italian Consuls, and Tewfik Bey, of Shakir Pasha's suite, made a tour of the Armenian quarter between Gümrük street and the limits of the city on the east. What they saw there beggars description. A long large barracks with a parade ground in front is situated on the eastern side of the street. When the massacre began these soldiers fired volley after volley into the houses, and then looted them. Those who had not escaped were murdered in their houses by the soldiers. In one house they saw two young brides brutally murdered lying on carpets bespattered with blood, disfigured, and almost naked. In another house were two men butchered in a barbarous way, splinters of broken boxes and doors, windows shattered to pieces, the plastering torn and broken, everything in ruin.

In very many cases Armenians came to the guard-houses for protection, and almost invariably they were first examined, and then shot down in cold blood. Sometimes this was done to single individuals, sometimes they were shot down in groups. During that awful four hours, the military gave no quarter to men found in the shops and streets, and in very many cases not even to men found in the houses. The wounds of the dead bodies were awful beyond description. Even the wounded had awful wounds. Mr. Chambers helped to dress the wounds, which included the amputation of the right hand

and left thumb, of a man who had sixteen. Ten of them were on his head, all of them horrible gashes. Another he helped to dress, had three horrible gashes on his head, two dagger wounds in his back, and a bullet through his left hand. Coal oil had been poured on him preparatory to burning. A little nine-year old boy had his arm amputated. But this is enough to give an idea of the determined onslaught. One soldier declared that he used ten packages of ammunition, each package containing twelve rounds, making in all 120 rounds of ammunition shot away by one man in four hours.

There was one redeeming feature. Many Turks (civilians) rescued Armenians who appealed to them. They kept them in their houses or in their shops, till it was safe to send them home. In one instance a Turk hid an Armenian under a pile of wool in the Armenian's own shop. When the shop was attacked, the Turk went in and helped to distribute the goods, trying in the meantime to turn the attention of the soldiers from the wool. However, they demanded the wool, which he was forced to give. Soon the Armenian began to appear. The soldiers were for shooting him at once. The Turk protested and prevented that. Then they insisted on searching his person and taking his purse and watch. Then the Turk said, "I am a Moslem. I have had no share in this plunder; the purse and watch must fall to me." The soldiers again demanded to kill him. The Turk whispered something to the officer in command, and they said that as the man was such a bad Armenian, he should be kept for hanging. After much persuasion the soldiers consented to this, so the Turk marched off the Armenian as if to the Government House, to be kept for hanging. However he got him to a place of safety, and later, restoring his purse and watch, sent him home.

A large number of Armenians were saved by the good will of Turkish friends. This is all the more remarkable as the threats of slaughter against the Armenians seemed to be quite universal on the part of the Turks, and generally Turks joined with the soldiers in plundering the shops of their Christian neighbors.

By noon on Thursday, all was quiet again. The soldiers were bringing Armenians, who had managed to escape the slaughter by hiding in all sorts of places, to their homes. Many were brought to the Mission House first, where they again saw their kinsfolk. One was a sick and poor woman whose house had been entered by the soldiers. She fell at their feet and besought them to leave the few things she had in her home. One of the soldiers seized a "kalian" and struck her on the forehead, knocking her senseless. Quiet continued all day long, but the people could not be induced to return to their homes. Some went there to find everything cleaned out.

Thursday night passed much as the previous night had, and Friday morning came. This was the Moslem Sunday, and the terror of the Armenians was renewed. They had no confidence in the soldiers at all, and the Turks, as well as the soldiers, told them that the killing would begin again. Especially were the Bishop's house and the Sanassarian school threatened. The women with babies, girls, and more men flocked to the mission building until the building and enclosed garden held little short of 500 frightened people, who could not be induced to return to their homes. But gradually they ventured to go to their homes, and night found the crowd reduced to 200. The Turks made preposterous statements about the number of revolutionists, and arms and ammunition

hidden in the Armenian church and Sanassarian school. Apparently they had been too cowardly to attack the place with their rifles, and now they threatened to bombard it from the forts. The English Consul here lent his good services as mediator. The places were searched quietly by the Turkish officials, and, of course, not a weapon or a revolutionist was found, for there are no more law-abiding citizens in the Ottoman Empire than the gentlemen in charge of the Sanassarian school. They are fine, cultured men, who desire nothing more than peace to conduct their educational enterprise. In 1890, at the time of the riot, this same charge, equally unfounded, was made against them. But the affair in that year was really a riot, for a mob and not soldiers paraded the streets, looting and spoiling. In that year the English Consul lived in the mission building, where every glass was smashed in with stones.

It was natural that there should be the wildest statements as to the number of killed. Some put it at 2,000. The best estimate available makes it 800 to 1,000. Nearly all were men. Not a single dead Turk was reported or seen. A dragoman of one of the Consulates, who saw the firing for two hours in the bazaars, said that all the soldiers were out, fully armed, to the number of 3,000. They were not content with shooting a man once, but they fired at each one three and four times. He boldly declared that the government officials had ordered the soldiers to begin to kill. The patrol who held the foot of the street occupied by the American Mission House and several Consulates, deliberately squatted behind a pile of newly-chopped wood in front of the French Consulate and put the entrance to the Health Office under fire to prevent the Armenians from seeking refuge there. The English

Consul stopped this, threatening to fire on them if they continued. Both the English and French Consuls, whose houses adjoin each other, were on their housetops when the attack began, and found the bullets whistling so unpleasantly near that they deemed it advisable to go below.

An eye-witness describes the scene on Friday afternoon as most horrible. He went with one of the cavasses of the English Legation, a soldier, his interpreter, and a photographer (Armenian) to the Armenian Gregorian Cemetery. The municipality had sent down a number of bodies, friends had brought more, and a horrible sight met his eyes. Along the wall on the north, in a row 20 feet wide and 150 feet long, lay 321 dead bodies of the massacred Armenians. Many were fearfully mangled and mutilated. He saw one with his face completely smashed in with a blow of some heavy weapon after he was killed: some with their necks almost severed by a sword cut; one whose whole chest had been skinned and his forearms cut off, while the upper arm was skinned of flesh. He asked if the dogs had done this. "No, the Turks did it with their knives." A dozen bodies were half burned. All the corpses had been rifled of all their clothes except a cotton under-garment or two. These white under-clothes were stained with the blood of the dead, presenting a fearful sight. The faces of many were disfigured beyond recognition, and all had been thrown down, face foremost, in the dust of the streets and mud of the gutters, so that all were black with clotted blood and dust. Some were stark naked, and every body seemed to have at least two wounds, and some a dozen. In this list of dead there were only three women, two babies, a number of young children, and about thirty young men of 15 to 20.

A crowd of a thousand people, mostly Armenians, watched him taking photographs of their dead. Many were weeping beside their dead fathers or husbands. The Armenian photographer saw two children, relatives of his, among the dead. Some Armenian workmen were engaged excavating a deep trench twenty feet square, close by, to bury the corpses. Here, too, was a peculiar scene. The space of this trench contained many graves, and on one side were a number of skulls, perhaps twenty in all, and a pile of bones found in the excavating. He left the sad sight sick at heart. Apart from the rest was the horribly mutilated corpse of an Armenian priest, with whom a story is connected. He came from a village in the plain, Tevnik, where he had been attacked a few days before and his house looted. At the same time, to save his life, he signed a paper promising to pay the robbers 100 liras. As soon as he was free, he made for Erzrum to make complaint. This man, it was said, was the first Armenian killed. He was in the Serai, on his business, when he was shot dead in the premises with several other defenseless Armenians. This is the way it began at the deserted Serai, and is the other side of the story.

The news of the massacre at Erzrum created a great shock everywhere. That in such a city, in the very presence of English, French and Russian Consuls, with high dignitaries of the Turkish Government in command, such scenes should occur was in itself a matter of great moment. That the killing and pillaging should be carried on by the soldiers under the direct command of their officers, showed conclusively that it was no mere mob outbreak. Of course, there were various stories told. Among them was one to the effect that seven Armenians had run into the Government House

and made directly for the audience rooms of Raouf Pasha. These had fired their revolvers right in the faces of those they met, but two of them were killed and five taken prisoners before they had done any harm. This was pretty hard to believe, for at the outside entrance of the Serai were always stationed at least two soldiers, and generally a dozen or more were strolling about fully armed.

More than that, assurance upon assurance had been given that if the Armenians would be quiet there would be no trouble. The commanding officers claimed to be very indignant that the soldiers had been guilty of looting and it was said that they had done their best to stem the torrent. To those, however, who know Turkish officers and soldiers, this statement will carry little weight. Nine days after the massacre there was still great anxiety. Then commenced an outbreak of sickness, the result of the terrible nervous strain, of insufficient food and the general privation. Then, too, stragglers came in from the villages on the Passen, Khanus and Alashgerd plains, with their own stories of horrors, until it seemed as if the cup of suffering was more than full.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Massacres in Harput District.

American Residences—First Indications—Specious Promises—Riot, Murder and Pillage—A Dangerous Journey—Attempts at Defense—List of Villages and Details of Massacres—Statement of a Turkish Official—Armenians not Responsible—Turkish Dread of Reform—Tabular Statement.

THE city of Harput stands on a hill in a plain to the east of the Euphrates. It is a city of 30,000 inhabitants, of whom less than one-half are Armenians, the others being Turks. The plain stretches out in rolling country, except to the north, where lies a hilly and even mountainous region. The Harput plain has long been noted as one of the most fertile in Asia Minor or Eastern Turkey. The inhabitants are quiet, peaceful folk, both Armenians and Turks. The different villages are prosperous, and there has been a good degree of intelligence and of self-restraint among this people. The wave of revolutionary feeling that extended over the region of Marsovan and Yuzgat scarcely seemed to touch Harput, and up to the close of 1895 there were no indications of any trouble. The city is the centre of a large mission work and the seat of the Euphrates College, together with a theological seminary and a flourishing girls' school. The students are gathered from the whole of Eastern Turkey, and represent the better element of the Armenian nation throughout

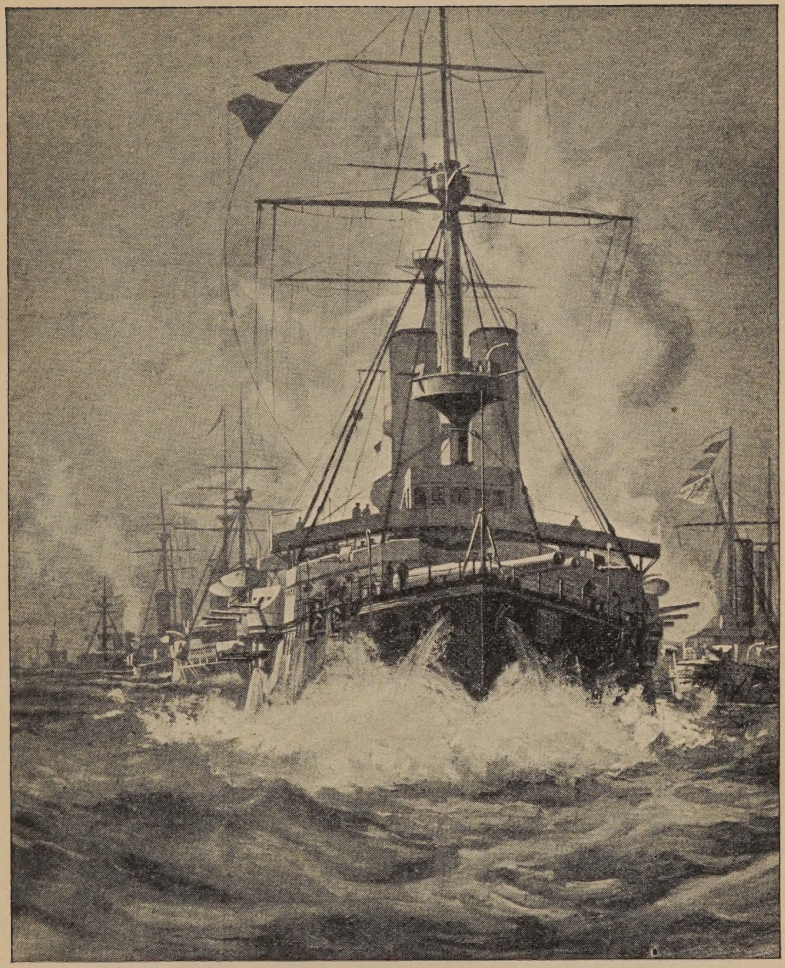
that section of the empire. From the very beginning of the Armenian question, strong influence was exerted in favor of entirely peaceful action in the effort to secure reform, and all overt opposition to the government was strongly discountenanced. Turkish officials were always welcomed at the exercises in the college and repeatedly expressed their pleasure at its conduct. The missionaries had always been on excellent terms with the officials, especially with the governors of the province, who were located at the town of Mezereh, about four miles below the city on the plains. So far as was apparent, not a sign of revolutionary influence was manifest anywhere in the region, and friends of the missionaries located there felt that they at least were in no danger from the disturbances. The first indication of danger was the appearance on the plain of bands of Kurds from the regions north and east. Villages were attacked, looted and burned, while the villagers were killed or scattered. For a time the marauders seemed to hold aloof from the city itself, but as they kept on their course of pillage their appetite for plunder was whetted, and they looked with avaricious eyes at the city on the hill. They were joined, too, by the Turkish rabble, both in the city and villages, and it became evident that there was danger, even for the Americans. Dr. H. N. Barnum went to the city officials and was assured that nothing should happen to them; that no Kurds would be allowed to enter the city. What followed is best told in the words of an eye-witness.

"We were surrounded for a week or ten days by a cordon of burning villages on the plain. Gradually the cordon of fire and fiendish savages drew nearer the city. The attack in the city was planned for Sunday, November 10th, and some of the city rabble began to make demonstrations; but

the soldiers drove them back. The invading Kurds, Redifs (Turkish soldiers in disguise as Kurds), were not ready for the onset. On Monday, November 11th, the attack began on Husenik (a village of the plains only a short distance from the city), where 200 were killed and as many more wounded, then up the gorge to Sinamood (a rocky hill on which stands the ruins of an old fortress) and the east part of the city. Then a body of men appeared in the Turkish cemetery below the city. They came near a body of soldiers posted on the hill with a cannon. Big Turks came down to them from the city; a conference seemed to be held. Apparently the invaders were forbidden to touch the markets (from which, of course, they knew that both Christians and Turks had removed their goods to their houses). Then the soldiers withdrew and were posted on the road higher up, apparently to better defend the empty markets. Then the invaders, with a great cry of "*Ash! ash!*" began to fire their guns. The soldiers also began to fire. It was soon apparent that this was only a little sham fight; but it was too thin to cover the nefarious design of the men who planned this thing. Then began the attack on the houses in this quarter. (The American houses are in the western part of the city, quite a distance from the markets.) The soldiers protected the raiders, and not a finger was lifted by the military officers on the ground to protect the people or us from the plundering, murderous mob. There were hundreds of plunderers. Scarcely a house in this quarter escaped, and a large number were set on fire. A crowd of refugees were in our court and house and girls' school.

"Soon our outside gate was attacked, and the crowd of fugitives fled for their lives. One company pressing through

a narrow passage were fired upon; the bullets fell like hail around them; four were wounded. A cannon-ball went through the same passage-way. This company fled to the hill and were taken into the city (twenty-seven school-girls in the crowd; they suffered untold misery in a khan that night; delivered next day, and brought away under an escort of soldiers). The rest of the refugees took refuge in the yard of the girls' school, surrounded by a high wall. At the last moment I ran out to see if our heavy front gate was standing. I saw a hole a foot wide made, and instantly the loud report of a rifle warned me to retreat. We had been in the yard but a few moments when the marauders were at the door of the yard inside the school buildings. We made another start and hurried out from the gate, and this time for the College (boys') building as our last refuge. I was on the outside of the fleeing crowd, our invalids, Mr. W. and Mrs. A., borne in strong arms. Suddenly a savage-looking Turk appeared at the corner of the building outside. I instinctively raised my hand to prevent his coming toward the fleeing crowd. Instantly he drew and flourished a revolver and deliberately pointed at me. I thought for an instant it was only to frighten us and make us hasten our flight, but two shots from his pistol convinced me that his purpose was to murder. Some thirty or more had been shot down in the houses just below us. Again, before we were all through the gate, he aimed at Mr. Gates and Miss Wheeler and fired a third time; but no one was hit. We breathed more freely as we pressed into the three-story stone building with the more than four hundred fugitives. Soon the smoke began to rise from the front of my house and Mr. Brown's; some say the house was set on fire by bombshells. Soon the whole of the houses



BRITISH FLOTILLA. The gigantic gunboats of the British Mediterranean fleet nearing Constantinople after the most terrible massacres

MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS. This is a sketch by an eye-witness of the terrible massacre of Armenians by Softas (fanatical Moslem Students) near St. Sofia.

connected with the Girls' College were on fire, and the large college building was no doubt set on fire; also fifty to seventy houses were burning below ours. Then the chapel close to us was set on fire, and the intense heat would have set fire to the large high-school building between the college and chapel; but with our new fire engine and a plentiful supply of water, Mr. Gates was able to save it from taking fire. Here in the college building, with 450 persons, we spent the night, with little bedding and only dry crusts of bread to eat.

"The plan was evidently to destroy all the buildings, and thus render our stay here impossible. One of the houses was fired in three places, but the fire went out. A bombshell was fired into Mr. Barnum's study, and burst in the room from which they had fled only a little before. Mr. Gates' house would have been burned—oil was poured in two places—but happily was left unburned. Three nights we remained in the college building, then went into a room in the Gates' house; the Barnums also went to theirs.

"The next morning after the attack, the Turkish military commander advised and urged leaving the college building, saying: 'I can't protect you here.' Mr. Barnum replied: 'The time has come for plain talk. I saw you standing on the hill there yesterday when our houses were plundered and burned, and you did nothing to prevent it. If you wish to protect us, you can do it better here than anywhere else.' The same officer had said two days before that he would be cut in pieces before he would allow a Kurd to enter the city. He now brazenly replied: 'What could I do against 15,000 Kurds?' They wanted to get the people scattered in the city, and us out of the buildings, and then they would have been burned. But I must not write more, although there

is much to tell. We write to Constantinople, but can't be sure of our letters getting through. We have telegraphed a good many times, but telegrams can't tell all. The pressure on the villages to become Moslem is terrible; large numbers have been instantly shot down or butchered who would not instantly abjure their Christian faith. We have already heard of the murder of seven of our pastors and six preachers. But I have not time to enter on these horrible details. If I can get letters sent on, perhaps I will send again; 45 killed in the west quarter, 100 in the whole city. Husenik, 200 killed, 200 wounded. Official reports will represent Turks killed. There has not been a single one killed or wounded."

Northwest of Harput is the city of Arabkir, one of the most prosperous in the whole region. The Armenians are enterprising and thrifty, and for the most part have been on good terms with the Mohammedans. The American Missionaries have had considerable influence there and at the time of the massacres two of the ladies were in the city. The time had come for them to return to Harput, but every possible difficulty was put in their way. There was intense excitement on every side and the Armenians were in terror. At last, by giving a heavy present the ladies secured a muleteer and a guard and started on their journey home. One of them has written of the journey as follows:

"Our journey was through a country infested with robber bands. Twice they stopped our zaptieh and demanded permission to rob us. We had the hardest time to get away from Arabkir, for the governor declared that he had no zaptieh, and we finally had to go to him in person to insist upon his furnishing one. Then we did not find a muleteer for

nearly a week; he was a Kurd, and his animals were so lazy and slow! We traveled as if all was as safe and pleasant as possible. The first band of robbers who insisted upon the satisfaction of 'cutting us to pieces' numbered seven fierce Kurds. I sat up straight on my horse and passed them quickly without looking, as if nothing was going on at all, and after me came the rest of our caravan, in the same spirit. The second band numbered 20, all fully armed. Again we pushed past and left our zeptieh to parley. The latter band had one man who took a fancy to my horse, and he proposed to shoot me and take Nejib for himself! There were many other robbers to be seen. We stayed the following night in a lonely khan, where we were in great danger.

"This khan was on the other bank of the Euphrates, which was crossed early the next morning. Our zaptieh was to be changed at the town of Maden, just there. Again the governor would give us none. I was obliged to go to him myself, whereupon he gave orders that the one who brought us to Maden should take us on. What a fierce and cruel-looking man that governor was! But he had a little pity in his heart, for, when he saw our servant loading up in the market, he said: 'Make haste, Yavroom (a term of endearment used for animals), go quickly.' He must have known what was coming. Our zaptieh took us on for a big price. I would have given him anything that he had asked. He was, to us, kind and good. How more than glad we were to get out of Maden. All were in fear, and the very next day the blow fell. It was a very worldly place, and all were busy, trying alone to hide their worldly goods. Oh, the pale faces and long-drawn sighs!"

At Arabkir and at Malatia, another large and prosperous

city farther south, the Armenians undertook to defend themselves. They, however, succeeded merely in stirring the greater anger of the Turks, with the result that they suffered terribly, while comparatively few Turks were killed. Estimates made soon after the massacre put the number of Armenians killed in Malatia at 5,000 and at Arabkir at 2,000, while in all probably not over 500 Turks suffered. In Malatia, all the Armenians, Gregorians, Roman Catholics and Protestants gathered in two churches and fought for their lives until compelled to surrender. One churchful first gave up their arms on condition of being protected, but after that they were surrounded and many of them were killed. Space does not permit complete statements, but the following table and notes, prepared in regard to the Harput region, will give an idea of the terrible work. The list embraces only a single month, commencing with the latter part of October, 1895. The items have been gathered with great care, and may be relied upon as within the truth rather than as exaggerated. The number of houses is given rather than the population, because that method is far more reliable. The number of people to a house varies from 5 to 30. Probably 8 to 10 would be a reasonably fair average.

Names.	*Houses.*	*Burned.*	*Killed.*	*Wounded.*
1. Adish.....	310	310	244 men 13 women	..
2. Aivose.....	..	..	70	..
3. Aghansi.....	47	1	12	10
4. Arabkir .....3,000 Armenians. 5,000 Turks. 350 shops.		2,750 325	2,000	..
5. Bizmishen.....	270	190 Partly 40	23	5
6. Chemishgesek.	..	..	..	..
7. Momsa.....	..	..	10	..

	Names	*Houses.*	*Burned.*	*Killed.*	*Wounded.*
8.	Kutturbul.....	100	100	..	..
9.	Chunkush.....	1,000 Ar. 480 T.	103	680	..
10.	Chermuk.....	400 Ar. 700 T.	most.	..	..
11.	Diarbekir.....	..	..	2,000	..
12.	Egin.....	1,000 Ar. 1,000 T.	..	..	..
13.	Gamirgab.....	90	32	7	..
14.	Garmuri.....	..	..	..	..
15.	Hokh.....	125 Ar. 150 T.	30	62	10
16.	Huelu.....	300 Ar. 15 T.	263	30	..
17.	Habusi.....	180	90	75	50
18.	Hulakegh.....	150	11	16	..
19.	Havah.....	280	260	110	..
20.	Husenik.....	650 Ar. 120 T.	9	260	200
21.	Ichmeh.....	200 Ar. 60 T.		60	
22.	Konk.....	300	..	..	..
23.	Malatia.....	1,500 Ar.	..	5,000	..
24.	Ozunonah.....	100 Ar.	..	65	..
25.	Peri..... and 63 villages.	400 Ar. 90 T.	..	8	12
89.	Palu.....	400 Ar.	..	1,580	..
90.	Kapu Achmaz...	90 Ar.	75	..	..
91.	Khoshmat.....	160 Ar.	80	..	..
92.	Nurkhi.....	100 Ar.	90	..	..
93.	Shenaz..... and 40 villages.	80 Ar.	45	..	..
134.	Severek.....	350 Ar.	..	750	..
135.	Saru Kamish...	80 Ar.	..	6	..
136.	Sheikhaji	..	..	..	..
137.	Tadem.....	300 Ar. 4 T.	250	270	100
138.	Upper Mezreh..	20	11	..	..
	Total	19,851	5,064	12,708	387

REMARKS.

1. *Adish* is a mountain village, and many had gone away to earn a living. Many females carried off by Turks and Kurds.

2. *Aivose.*—This place "wiped out." Women and girls carried off. Priest was forced to sound the "call to prayer," then shot. He blessed the man who shot him and said, "Shoot me again."

4. *Arabkir.*—Began Tuesday, November 6th, continued till Saturday. After that the Protestant pastor and many leading men were imprisoned. Pastor and others killed in prison. Plunder complete. Even the richest are destitute.

5. *Bizmishen.*—Eight miles from Harput. All who remained in the village were killed by Kurds. Most of them were old or sick and could not flee. The rest fled to Mezreh (the seat of the governor of the province) where they were robbed by soldiers under pretense of search for arms.

6. *Chemishgesek.*—Up to within a few days the city had escaped, but the villages being near the region occupied by the Dersim Kurds had been ravaged and in part burned.

8. *Kutturbul.*—Karabash, Kahe, Cherokeeya were burned with much loss of life. Only four men escaped from Kutturbul. Two Protestants pastors, men, women and children killed.

9. *Chunkush.*—November 4th, Kurds plundered the market and withdrew, but returned at night and burned 83 houses. Christians taken to mosque and forced to accept Islam. Gave up weapons. November 8th, Kaimakam (local governor) came. November 11th, soldiers. November 14th, Kurds returned; soldiers fired on Christians, and Kurds then raided the town, all armed with Martini rifles. Protestant church, school and parsonage burned.

10. *Chermuk.*—Few males escaped.

11. *Diarbekir.*—November 1st–3d. Began by Moslems issuing from mosque and burning the market. Christians defended themselves. Do not know how many Turks were slain.

12. *Egin.*—Paid £. T. 1,500 ($6,600) to Mahmud Agha, a Kurdish chief, to secure immunity.

13. *Gamirgab.*—A suburb of Egin.

14. *Garmuri.*—Chiefs took Christians to their houses while Kurds plundered. Then they told them, "Unless you accept Islam we cannot protect you." At the edge of the sword they accepted Islam and were circumcised. Protestant chapel and parsonage burned. Armenian church now a mosque.

15. *Hokh.*—Armenian church, Protestant chapel and parsonage burned. Those killed had kneeled to receive circumcision. Fifty-five women and children taken to harems and Turkish villages. Women and girls outraged.

16. *Huelu.*—All but thirty-seven poor houses burned. Seventy-five Protestant houses and their fine new church burned. Two priests killed. The last houses burned were kindled with kerosene sent by the government. Survivors accepted Islam or are fugitives.

17. *Habusi.*—Dead unburied. Church, chapel and parsonage burned.

18. *Hulakegh.*—Plundered by Turks. Preacher tortured and killed in city. His wife killed.

19. *Havah.*—Being considered a centre of nationalism, Turks said they would make this village "a field." Attacked by Kurds October 29th. Villagers held them off for two days and sent to government for help, which was refused. Then villagers fled, Kurds plundered the village. Killed 10

or 15. Thursday, October 31st, soldiers came. Fugitives heard the bugle and returned, expecting protection. Soldiers killed 50 of them; the rest fled to Ibraham Bey, at Socrat. After two or three days he sent them to barracks at Palu. There the women were separated, and sent to city; men sent back to Socrat. Ibraham Bey sent Kurds to meet them, who fired, killing 50 more. Survivors returned to barracks. Since then they have lived here and there as they could, pulling up the sprouting grain to get the seed, eating grass, etc. Government gave a little grain, Kurds took it.

20. *Husenik.*—Many of the dead were shot by soldiers. List of killed still increasing. Priests killed with great indignity.

21. *Ichmeh.*—Survivors are considered Moslems. Males are assembled in church, led out, and made to choose Islam or death. Protestant pastor killed. Church a mosque, chapel a sheepfold.

22. *Konk.*—"Worse than Habusi." No details.

23. *Malatia.*—November 4th–7th. Began by sudden raid of Turks and Kurds upon the market. Kurds armed with Martini rifles. Four hundred killed in the market, 30 or 40 at government headquarters. Armenians defended themselves. Five thousand Armenians, 500 Turks and Kurds killed. Small rations given for a few days and then ceased.

24. *Ozunonah.*—Agha took people to his house for "protection," while Kurds plundered the village; then he sent them back, gathered leading men to take them to Palu for circumcision. Outside the village 10 were shot. Under the lead of a Christian woman, 55 men, women and children threw themselves into the river.

25. *Peri.*—Seventy villages—20,000 souls in that region

(Christians). Seven villages spared, rest plundered. In Peri Kurds attacked November 6th. Soldiers guided them to Christian houses. Plunder largely by Turks of the town. Kurds, dissatisfied with their share of the plunder, returned November 9th to plunder Turks, but two Kurds were shot and they withdrew. Agha had 20 to 30 Kurds in his house and secured much plunder. Four hundred and fifty Christians were made Moslems. A colonel came a few days later with soldiers. He reproached the Turks for the small number slain, and said: "You should have killed at least 100."

89. *Palu.*—November 5th. The market and 50 or 60 houses were plundered by soldiers and Kurds. Afterward a government *telal* (broker) ordered people to open shops on penalty of three *medjidies* (silver dollars) fine. Said everything had passed and no more danger. Kurds came again, but were driven off to the villages, which they plundered. A sheik and his son preached a crusade against Christians. An attempt was made to involve Armenians, but failed. Sheik's son said he thirsted for the blood of Armenians, and they were foolish to wait for them to start a disturbance. He is said to have killed 43 himself. November 11th Kurds suddenly appeared and began to kill. Only two Armenians resisted. The dead are estimated from 1,200 to 2,000. Chapel ruined, parsonage and school turned into barracks. Survivors dying of hunger. No relief allowed. Forty-four villages around Palu all plundered badly; seven more or less burned. From Khoshmat 20 or 30 women came to the barracks stark naked. Many outraged.

134. *Severek.*—Attack began by rush of Turks and Kurds upon the market; lasted three days. Of 80 Chunkush families in city, only seven heads of families remain.

136. *Sheikhaji.*—November 5th and 6th. Saved by Agha on payment of twenty liras. All became Moslems. Two priests killed, one with great indignity. Hadji Beyo and his son, Mustapha, were foremost in destroying the village. Now Agha gives a woman to each soldier and zaptieh on guard every night. He has given two married women to his son and two to two renegade Armenians.

138. *Upper Mezreh.*—Much plunder from the city taken to Ahmed Agha's house. His son is a zaptieh and his stepson a collector.

These are only the places in regard to which figures were available at the time. No one counted the wounded in most places. The number of deaths increased daily. From the villages which have been counted around Peri and Palu there were no particulars. The sum total must be dreadful in the extreme. No attempt has been made to keep count of the outrages upon women. They came from every quarter and hardly attracted notice.

If any one is inclined to doubt the reality of these chapters of horrors, they may be convinced by a table of statistics given below and prepared by an intelligent Turkish official, whose heart was greatly moved by the recent outrages in the region of Harput. He devoted much time to it, although secretly, for obvious reasons; and as he had had unusual facilities for securing information, this table is the most complete that has been made. As it is impossible to secure exact information in such cases, and as there is always a tendency to exaggerate, some of the items are probably an overstatement. Along with this was a document of which the following is a translation. Coming as it does from a Mohammedan, who has a title and who is in the public service, it is

a document of no small interest and importance, for it is a testimony independent of other testimony that has been given, but which in every essential confirms what has been previously related. This statement is as follows:

"A petition in behalf of the Armenians was given to the Powers in the hope of improving their condition. An Imperial Firman was issued for carrying out the Reforms suggested by the Powers. On this account the Turkish population was much excited by the thought that an Armenian Principality was to be established here; and they began to show great hostility to the poor Armenians, who had been obedient to them and with whom they had lived in peace for more than six hundred years. In addition to their anger was added the permission and help of the government, by which, before the Reforms were undertaken, the whole Turkish population was aroused with the evil intent of obliterating the Armenian name: and behold the Turks of the district, joining with the neighboring Kurdish tribes, by the thousand, armed with weapons which are allowed only to the army, and with the help and guidance of Turkish officials, in an open manner in the daytime attacked the Armenian shops, stores, monasteries, churches and schools, and committed the fearful atrocities which are set forth in the accompanying table. They killed bishops, priests, teachers and common people, with every kind of torture; and they showed special spite toward ecclesiastics by treating their bodies with extra indignity, and in many cases they did not allow their bodies to be buried. Some they burned and some they gave as food to dogs and wild beasts. They plundered churches and monasteries and they took all the property of the common people, their flocks and herds, their ornaments and their money, their house-furnishings,

their food, and even the clothing of the men and women in their flight.

" Then, after plundering them, they burned many houses, churches, monasteries, schools and markets, with the petroleum they had brought with them, and the large stone churches, which they could not burn, they ruined in other ways. Some churches were converted into mosques and devoted to Moslem worship ; other churches suffered all sorts of defilement ; and their sacred books were torn in pieces and cast on the dung-hills, and even the priestly garments, used in the celebration of the Mass, were put upon harlots. Besides this, priests, laymen, women and even small children, were made Moslems by force. They put white turbans on the men and circumcised them in a cruel manner. They cut the hair of the women in bangs—like that of Moslem women—and made them go through the Moslem prayers. Married women and girls were defiled against the sacred law, and some were married by force and are still detained in Turkish houses. Especially in Palu, Severek, Malatia, Arabkir, and Chunkush, many women and girls were taken to the soldiers' barracks and dishonored there. Many to escape such dishonor, threw themselves into the Euphrates, and some committed suicide in other ways. It is very clear that the majority of those killed in Harput, Kesirik, Malatia and Arabkir were killed by the soldiers; and also that the churches and schools of the missionaries and Gregorians in the upper quarter of Harput city, together with the houses, were set on fire by cannon-balls. Merchants, bankers and others of the principal Armenians are obliged to beg their food. If immediate aid is not sent, multitudes of the sufferers will perish from hunger and cold during the severe winter. (See the table on next page.)

STATISTICS OF THE RECENT OUTRAGES IN THE HARPUT VILAYET.

TABLE OF OUTRAGES.

	Killed.	Burned.	Ecclesiastics and Teachers Killed.	Died from Hunger and Cold.	Died in Fields and on the Road.	Died from Fear.	Total Deaths.	Wounded.	Houses Burned.	Forcible Conversion to Islam.	Rape.	Churches, Monasteries and Schools Destroyed.	Married by Force to Turks.	Number of Destitute and Needy.
Harput and its 59 Villages	5,523	340	14	990	450	106	7,423	1,987	9,890	4,643	973	108	345	29,804
Arabkir and its Villages	7,550	440	6	590	960	130	9,676	1,390	5,960	1,540	913	19	216	17,970
Egin, Pingan, and Villages	2,670	70	4	130	170	31	3,075	1,195	1,860	2,320	552	38	193	9,511
Keban Maden, Kaimakamluk..	11	....	....	6	....	6	23	7	....	113	....	6	....	460
Malatia and District.....	6,540	213	7	495	1,960	203	9,418	1,721	5,602	3,450	1,120	13	195	11,650
Dersim Mutesariflik	2,450	75	9	260	320	72	3,186	710	2,350	1,573	192	27	156	13,850
Palu & its Villages (bel. to Diarbekir)	4,800	245	11	795	470	112	6,433	990	2,900	1,440	1,780	16	427	11,625
Totals.....	29,544	1,383	51	3,266	4,330	760	39,234	8,000	28,562	15,179	5,530	227	1,532	94,870

The government makes little effort to provide for the security of the people and unless special protection is provided, the survivors will perish also.

"It is impossible to state the amount of the pecuniary loss. The single city of Egin has given twelve hundred liras ($5,280) as a ransom. (It is said by others to have been fifteen hundred liras.)

"These events have occurred for the reasons which I have mentioned. I wish to show by this report, which I have written from love to humanity, that the Armenians gave no occasion for these attacks."

Strong as these statements are, they are not overdrawn. There may be exaggerations in the figures by hundreds and thousands, but the facts it is impossible to exaggerate. Every place has its own tale of horror, and when individual cases are examined the record is too vast for the human imagination. Only God and the angels can take it in.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Aintab, Marash and Urfa.

The Situation in Northern Syria—No Revolutionary Movement—Massacre at Aintab—Kurdish Women—A Turkish Captain Helps the Pillage—A Colonel Checks it—Caring for the Wounded—Two Attacks at Marash—Destruction of American Houses—Brave Men in Zeitun—Story of Massacres at Urfa.

SOUTH of the Taurus Mountains, in what is called Northern Syria, are a number of large cities, the most important being Aleppo, Antioch, Aintab, Birejik and Urfa. On the very edge of the mountains is the city of Marash, while in the midst of the range are Zeitun, Albistan, Behesni, Adiaman and some other places of more or less note. Aleppo is a distinctively Moslem city, and, more noticeable still, purely Arabic. Its inhabitants are only to a limited degree Turks, the great majority, whether Moslem or Christian, being of Syrian race. Antioch has less of the Arab element, but all the rest are distinctively Turkish and Armenian. The Turks are very largely of Turcoman rather than Ottoman or Seljuk descent. The Armenians not only lose almost entirely their own language, adopting the Turkish, but differ in some respects from the Armenians of Asia Minor. Whether this is because they are somewhat shut off by the mountains, or because they were more bitterly oppressed, or because they

more thoroughly accepted the inevitable, it is impossible to say. In any case they have been noted for their general sturdiness of character, their general prosperity, and a large degree of liberality for new ideas. Protestant missions have advanced greatly among them, and their system of schools established in the cities is probably the best in the empire. In general, they have always been peaceable, though in the mountains they have not been slow to assert their independence. Few Turks cared to enter Zeitun against the will of its people, and in Aintab their representatives in the local city council were always found self-assertive, though always diplomatic and not aggressive in their manner. As a natural result of their interest in education, it came about that a college for young men was established in Aintab, and one for young women in Marash, and the students in both cities showed marked ability and progressive ideas. For the most part their relations with the Moslems were friendly, though in Marash, where apparently the close proximity of the mountain sections seemed to roughen all, there was considerable jealousy and antagonism.

The Armenian Revolutionists apparently made little effort, certainly met with no success, to embroil these communities, and when the storm burst in the north there was a general feeling that these places would be spared. One exception might be made in regard to Marash, and the well-known jealousy of the Turkish Government in regard to colleges made some fear for Aintab. The mutterings preceding the storm were heard, however, as soon as the word of the massacre at Constantinople had reached the Turkish population of the region. There was trouble in the smaller places first, an attack in Urfa on November 3d; and then, less than

SCENE OF SLAUGHTER. Showing how the unarmed Armenians were clubbed and shot to death by the fanatical and bloodthirsty Moslems.

IMPRISONING ARMENIANS. This is from a sketch by an eye-witness of the brutal seizure of Armenians, and either murdering them or forcing them into the Prison or Death-house at Stamboul.

two weeks later, the blow fell at Aintab. The following description by an eye-witness will give the story better than any one else can. The letter is written from the college, which is situated on a hill quite a distance from the city.

"AINTAB, Monday, November 18th, 1895.

"We have been congratulating ourselves that our city had escaped the outbreak of Moslem fanaticism which has lately swept the neighboring cities with the besom of destruction. But Saturday morning, without the slightest warning, while we were at breakfast, a great noise of shouting and firing of guns came to us from the city, telling us that the work of blood and plunder had begun here, also. My first thought was for the ladies and girls at the seminary and hospital. So, seizing my revolver, I sprang upon my horse and hurried over there. I met and passed many armed Kurds, who live in the suburb just about the hospital and seminary, but they did not interfere with me. Upon nearing the city, the confused sound that had reached us at the college became resolved into its elements; and I could distinguish the hoarse cries of fighting men, the screams of women and children, and, most terrible of all, the shrill, exultant *lu-lu-lu-lu* of the Kurdish and Turkish women, cheering on their men to the attack. I found the girls' school and hospital had not, as yet, been attacked. Dr. Hamilton and Miss Trowbridge preferred to remain at their post of duty rather than to join the ladies at the seminary, which decision I could not oppose. Upon my return to the seminary, which is separated from the hospital yard by a narrow street only, I found Brother Sanders there, and shortly our nearest neighbor, Hadji Hussein Agha, came in and said that at the outbreak which occurred at the Bazar, he had hastened at the top of his speed—not great at best, for he is a very fat man—to protect the hospital and girls' school. As I had saved his brother's life by a desperate surgical operation some years ago, and always been on friendly terms with him, I felt we could trust him to do his best. But when, a few minutes later, some 200 soldiers in uniform, with fixed bayonets, filed out of the street below and marched into the open just beyond the seminary, I felt a great relief; for that meant that the government intended to protect the Americans at least. From the upper veranda of the seminary we could plainly see the crowd of plunderers breaking into Christian houses and carrying off house-

hold goods. We could see the brave defense made by some of the Christians from the housetops with stones and firearms, where they had them, and still the horrid *lu-lu-lu* of the Kurdish women rent the air, mingled with the screams of the conquered, wounded and the dying, the hoarse cries of the men and the frequent reports of the firearms. An attack was made upon the hospital gate, but Hadji Hussein held the assailants in check until the soldiers arrived and drove them off. Clouds of smoke from a fire in the lower part of the city added to the terror of the women servants at the hospital, some of whom lived in that neighborhood. But the girls at the school behaved very well indeed. About noon, seeing that there was no immediate danger of an attack upon the seminary or hospital, I left Brother Sanders there and returned to the college. Here I found some thirty or forty refugees, mostly stonecutters, who had been out on the hills at work, and a few women and children.

"Not long after noon the disturbance in the part of the city near us had mostly ceased, although the occasional sound of guns and the smoke of burning houses from the central part of the city showed that the fiendish work still went on; and a continual passing of villagers with bundles of plunder on their backs, and some with donkey loads and camel loads, showed too plainly that the looted area must have been considerable. Although not anticipating a night attack, we thought it wise to make preparations for one, and so barricaded the most defensible of the buildings on the campus for a rendezvous, set a watch and retired. But there was not much sleep. Nothing occurred during the night, and a cloudy morning broke above the city. At sunrise the villagers had already begun to enter the city; but soon after that the soldiers began to stop them, in a half-hearted sort of way, allowing them to congregate in large numbers a short distance away from the line of soldiers. About eleven o'clock I saw through my field-glass a captain on a white horse (I recognized both the man and the horse) approach a crowd of the plunderers, about two hundred strong, who had been driven away from the city, upon the hill, a quarter of a mile or so to the south, and make a harangue to them. Then he turned back toward the city with the soldiers who had been holding back the mob; and before they had reached the city the whole crowd had swarmed past them and entered the streets; then I knew the scenes of the day before were to be repeated, so taking my field-glass I mounted to the college tower as offering a better view. I did not have long to wait before the head of the crowd appeared,

coming up through Pasha Street, which had been completely looted the day before. They poured out of the street, a motley crowd of Turkish villagers, city Kurds, and roughs to the number of fifteen hundred or so, and turning to the right made a rush for the Christian quarter of Haik. That quarter has a strong gate across its entrance, and thirty or forty Christians were gathered upon the housetops, commanding the approach to this gate, armed with stones and two or three guns; and with the advantage afforded by their position on the flat roofs they held the mob at bay for three-fourths of an hour, and finally drove them off. Meantime, on the north side of the city, I saw the same Yûzbashi on the white horse. Here there were, perhaps, one thousand plunderers held in check by thirty or forty soldiers. Not long after the Yûzbashi made his appearance in that quarter, a part of their mob made a break, and some two or three hundred of them rushed into a small Christian quarter just under the seminary wall, and in a very few minutes were to be seen running off with their plunder. In the case of both these attacks there were plenty of soldiers standing about with loaded guns and fixed bayonets, who made not the slightest attempt to prevent the attack, or to scatter the mob; and the conclusion was irresistible that the Yûzbashi on the white horse had planned the attack in each case, or at least had signified to the mob that it could work its will. But his plans did not work altogether to his taste, for while the plunder was going on upon the north side, a Bimbashi (colonel) appeared upon the scene, and very soon the soldiers were firing over the heads of the mob to frighten them, and they were flying pell-mell out of the city. I wondered at the time that they should be so much frightened by a few guns fired into the air; but from a perfectly reliable source we learned that the Bimbashi shot four of the mob with his own hand, which would account for the celerity with which they dispersed. I attempted to go to the hospital yesterday morning and again this morning, but was not allowed to do so. Mr. Sanders brought word that the wounded of the north side attack yesterday, had been taken to the hospital, and one of them had died in the night, others being in a bad way. Dr. Hamilton had cared for them with the help of Miss Trowbridge and Solomon, our surgical assistant. We are as yet unable to form any idea of the number of the killed and wounded, or of the extent of the plundering, although we know of four outlying Christian quarters that have been entirely looted. The main part of the Christians live in the two quarters of Haik and Kyajuk, which have so far escaped. The women and children of two quarters that

were entirely looted are confined in the mosques of the quarters, with the choice of 'Islam or death;' but if not murdered before that time will, of course, be liberated as soon as the government gets control of the city again. To-day the plunderers from outside have been kept out of the city, but villagers have been freely allowed to go out of the city with their booty, until just now as I write this, at 2 P. M., a company of mounted gendarmes from Aleppo, which arrived this morning, has been sent out into the roads leading out of the city, to arrest plunderers and take their booty from them.

"This, I take it, means that the trouble is nearly over. How I wish that I could get into the city to look after the wounded. We have made application to the governor for permission to go to the hospital, but have as yet received no reply; yesterday he refused a similar request, and as there is a large body of soldiers between here and there, it is impossible to go.

"Sunday Evening, November 24th.

"It seems at least a month since I wrote the first part of this letter. Tuesday morning I was allowed to go into the city to see the Kaimakam and the 'Alai Pasha'—military commander—in whose company I found most of the notables of the Moslem community. I appealed to them for safe conduct for the wounded to be brought to the hospital and for burial of the dead. Both of which requests they granted; and I had not been back at the hospital more than half an hour when Dr. Habib, with an escort of soldiers, brought in some fifty or sixty patients. We were soon at work, and a ghastly set they were. They had been wounded upon the Saturday before, and had lain either exposed to the weather or crowded into a dirty stable all that time. Those who had escaped the ministration of the native hakim were fortunate; for all the wounded which he had touched were in a terribly septic state. The wounds were mostly made by knives or swords upon the heads, or hands and arms raised to ward off the head blows; and very few of the poor fellows had escaped without several, and some of them had ten or a dozen cuts. There were a few bayonet and gunshot wounds inflicted by the soldiers. In the middle of the afternoon, just as we began to congratulate ourselves that we were getting through with them, a batch of twenty-one more arrived, which kept us busy until dark. Among those brought in that day there were four or five fractured skulls, and two arms that I had to amputate, besides several other very severe cases. Three of them have since died. Each day since there have been some new cases brought in, until the

number of wounded that we have treated at the hospital now exceeds 150. We have as yet no means of knowing the number of the dead; for while they readily promised protection for the burial, that promise was not carried out. Most of the Christian dead were dragged to the outskirts of the city with every imaginable indignity and either burned or cast into the old quarries that abound upon the edge of the city, and left for the dogs and vultures to eat. Some of them, after being thrown into these pits, were covered out of sight by casting stones upon them. The best estimate obtainable puts the number of the killed at between 300 and 400 for the Christians and 10 or 12 from the Moslems. The massacre began in the market without the slightest warning, and the poor unarmed Christians were scattered like sheep before their well-armed assailants, who outnumbered them three to one. The carnage soon spread from the bazars and markets to the outlying Christian quarters of the city. All the Christian shops were plundered, and four outlying wards, mostly occupied by the poorest classes. When the mob reached the more compact Christian quarters of the city, they met with some vigorous resistance; and many of the streets have heavy gates which were closed, and some of them well defended; so their progress was checked, until night came down and put an end to the scene. So far as I can learn there was no attempt made by either the government or the Moslem beys and effendis during the whole of that terrible Saturday to stop the killing and looting, except that they hurried a large force of soldiers out for the defense of the foreign residents. The soldiers took part in the pillage and did nothing to prevent the butchery, although not doing a large part of the latter themselves. The following day they began to repress the populace, as I have already narrated in the earlier part of this letter, and up to the present have succeeded in preventing any further general outbreak; but the poor Christians are terror-stricken, and all of them await their death in their houses or the churches. Yesterday there was a determined attempt upon the part of a large mob to attack the Christian part of the city, but the military quelled it without much difficulty. This took place upon the southern side of the city; and while the soldiers were mostly withdrawn to that side, two or three houses were looted upon the northern side of the city, but no one killed.

"December 8th, 1895.

"The time drags on, with no great change in the situation. There has been no further outbreak since my last writing, and the strain seems some-

what relaxed; but the Christians dare not stir out of their houses yet, and all business is at a standstill. The college is still shut off from the city by a cordon of soldiers; and I am the only one allowed to go back and forth without obtaining special permission each time from the captain of the guard, and I am not allowed to enter the city except with a guard of two soldiers. This is ostensibly for my protection, but practically restricts my intercourse with the people very much, and debars me from much information that I might otherwise obtain. We had from Judge Terrell a telegraphic offer of an armed escort to the coast, where a United States cruiser awaited us; but we could not entertain the thought of leaving these poor people in their terror and distress, although we were in a good deal of anxiety for our women and children. There are now between 3,000 and 4,000 soldiers in the city, and so long as they remain under the control of the authorities there is no danger of another massacre. There are rumors among the Moslems of a commission coming here this week to investigate the massacre, and they are in a good deal of apprehension.

"Yesterday the Kaimakam asked me if I were willing to go to Zeitun on behalf of the government to negotiate for peace. I, of course, expressed myself as willing and glad to do so if the government would offer such terms as these Zeitunlis might probably accept, and he proceeded to communicate with higher officials. I have not yet had any further advice from him. I have managed to get a half-day's rest to-day for the first time in three Sabbaths. Our patients are all doing well, except one, who may very likely die from thrombosis of the cerebral sinuses. The best information I can get leads me to place the killed at not less than 400. The attack was wholly unprovoked, and the fact that not more than ten Moslems were killed, shows for itself that it was a mere butchery. Women and girls were not molested except in a few cases, when they attempted to defend their husbands or sons; but little boys were killed as ruthlessly as the men. It has been a terrible time, and I have not written the horrible details that you must have before you in order to realize the fiendish brutality of the affair. One thing which has made it particularly hard to bear has been the impossibility of communicating with the outside world, either to learn what is going on there or to acquaint others with the state of things here. Our letters have been intercepted in the mails, no newspapers allowed to reach us, our telegrams not sent, etc.; and when we have attempted to send special messengers, they have been arrested and treated as spies, imprisoned, and we

think in two cases killed. Letters are not now interfered with to the same extent as before, and if things continue to improve I shall try to send this by next post. We have felt that the Everlasting Arm was underneath us through it all, and it has been a great pleasure to me personally to be able to help the sick and wounded. What is to become of the thousands of homeless widows and orphans during the coming winter? Aintab has escaped with little loss as compared with many places; and still in Aintab there are at least 2,000 people who must be *wholly* supported by charity during this winter."

Three days after the attack at Aintab came the massacre at Marash. There had already been one outbreak on November 13th, and for four weeks there had been increasing disturbance, but the chief massacre occurred on the 18th. As to the first, an eye-witness wrote:

"Thus far at least fifty have been killed, and perhaps 300 have been wounded, some of them fatally. The affair is attributed to a quarrel between a Mussulman and an Armenian, in which the Mussulman was fatally injured. This was on the 24th of October. The next day, after the man was buried, the attack began. According to a Turkish official the outbreak would have occurred in any case, even had not this fatal altercation precipitated it. The disorder commenced on Friday, the 25th. Word came around that the plan had been to have it on Sunday, when the Armenian population would have been in the churches. We do not certainly know this. But nothing could be more apparent than that it was, at least, a permitted massacre. The worst occurred after the Mutessarif had sent a crier around three times to order the Armenians to open their shops on pain of fine. Those who obeyed had their shops pillaged. This is only too significant. Not a Moslem has been arrested for injuries to Christians. A few who aided the Christians have been arrested. The order

of the day now is gradually to arrest the Armenians who are prominent in influence or position. Two days ago the pastor of the Third Protestant Church was imprisoned. He is as innocent of any political crime as I am."

As to the second attack, the following letter gives an interesting account. It was written from the Girls' College, on the mountain just outside of the city:

"MARASH, Nov. 26th.

"We survived the massacre of Nov. 18th, though we had given up all hope for hours. For four weeks previously Christians had been shot at sight in the streets, houses plundered, men's heads put on pikes, and two cases in my knowledge where little girls had been disemboweled. It was a reign of terror, culminating in the butchery of the 18th. Early that morning the three church quarters were fired, and the steady report of the guns told us of the work of annihilation.

"We took the girls (of the college) and crossed the seminary yard into the one occupied by the Lees and McCalloms. It was not a moment too soon, as the houses overlooking their walls were then being plundered, and we plainly saw what was in progress. It was about 9 o'clock. The Arab soldiers had been turned loose on the city. A number of regiments were drawn up west of the city ready to lend assistance if there should be any opposition. A company was on a hill near us, not regulars, but still in uniform, to see that no one interfered here, and the Arab fiends had possession. I cannot now describe the scenes we witnessed. The raiding of the houses in the seminary yard, the killing of our two men and a third riddled with bullets. Finally they were held up and chopped and hacked with the sword as mercilessly and with as little purpose as a child attacks a mullein head. After the soldiers had left to carry away a load of our academy stores, the old women and children came in to carry away what was left. It seemed the plan that everything must go. I had said, 'There will be a larger and better organized force come here, for they may think we can resist.' There were 290 people in the two houses, chiefly women and children, and as still as death; and our girls, our sweet-faced girls, who tortured us with no wailing, but looking, in a heart-rendering manner, into our faces for the comfort and assurance that had never failed before. Everything was given

over. The smoke and dusk were closing in around us. The seminary yard was nearly finished. A lull of perhaps a moment. We peeped through the curtains (Miss B. and I), and turning to each other, quietly said, 'They've come.'

"A large force of Arabs was in the street, drawn up in order, each with his gun ready for firing, I thought, and started to go below to our girls, to be with them to the last. Someone was pounding on the street door, and we heard friendly calls. Mr. McCallom gave a glance at his wife and babies and said, 'I must go,' and he went. The calling continued and we were puzzled. But the gate, on being opened, let in some of our people and a colonel who had come with a guard—the first in all that day. We had seen the man on horseback in the afternoon, riding among the soldiers and playfully hitting them on the shoulders as if pretending to drive them away. This only made us feel sure that the government had doomed us and wanted a pretext for trying to protect us. Fortunately for me, the two wounded theologues were brought in, and I had my hands full till midnight, when one of them died. The other was shot and hacked up terribly, but I dressed his wounds and he is still alive. The condition in the city is beyond description. Starvation on every hand; the best of our people gone. The soldiers estimate as their day's work 4,700 dead, but it is too much. They were occupied with plunder. One young man was given the alternative of death or becoming a Moslem. He chose death and they struck his head off. His poor body was taken to his mother, who, taking his hand and kissing it, said: 'Rather so, my son, than living to deny our Lord and Saviour.' He is one of thousands to sacrifice his life rather than deny Christ."

This, however, was not all. At Zeitun, not far away, the Turkish troops had made an effort to attack the Armenians. They in their turn arose, made the Turks prisoners, fortified their position and defied the government. The effect was manifest in Marash, which was made the headquarters for the troops that soon came pouring in to put down this sole instance of real insurrection in the whole empire. From that time on, riot in greater or less degree was continuous, and every Christian in the city, foreigner and native, lived in con-

stant terror. For more than three months the brave Zeitun men held out, trusting in their own pluck, skill and knowledge of the country, and at last, late in February, 1896, the Turkish Government was forced to give them honorable terms of peace.

For a month attention was specially directed to Zeitun and the mountain cities, including Adiaman, but by the middle of December there were indications that trouble was to break out again in Urfa. That city was for a long time identified with Ur of the Chaldees, not merely by Moslem tradition, but in Christian books. It was, too, the seat of government of Abgar, the Armenian king, to whom, according to Armenian historians, Thaddeus preached, and who had the unique honor of a letter from the Saviour. Here, too, was the home of Ephrem Syrus, the famous ecclesiastic of the earlier Syrian Church. Moslem and Christian interest and pride centered alike about the place, and in some respects there was exceptional Moslem fanaticism. In the city was a single American missionary lady. Anxious for her safety, the missionaries at Aintab had made efforts to bring her there, but she remained. Her account of the scenes at that time is given below:

LETTER FROM A MISSIONARY.

"We had often heard that the Moslems were dissatisfied with the attempt of two months ago which resulted in the destruction of only 40 lives and about £150,000 worth of goods, the plunder of 600 shops and 289 houses. After this the Christians were all completely disarmed by the government. Some 80 men had been imprisoned, and we feared another scene of terror. It came at last with great suddenness.

"On Saturday, December 28th, the firing of a few guns in the Moslem quarter south of us proved the signal. Immediately an immense multitude gathered on the hill back of our house. The guards in the street east of us went to meet the people, fired a few shots over their heads, and then allowed

the mass of wild humanity, thirsty for blood, to pass into the city and begin their work. The horrid work continued until dark. Three soldiers kept the mob from entering our street, constantly proclaiming: 'It is the house of a foreigner, and it is forbidden to touch her.' We find by count that our 'shadow' covered 17 houses and 240 people. The mob came as far as to enter our girls' schoolrooms in the churchyard, and they broke open the third door below us on the street and plundered the house. I saw one man beaten and then thrown down on the roof just opposite to me on the other side of the street. The Syrians and Roman Catholics were also spared. All other Christians suffered complete loss of all home furnishings, and some houses were burned. The number of killed cannot be less than 3,500 and may reach 4,000. Of these it is estimated that 1,500 perished in the great Gregorian church. On Saturday that portion of the city was hardly touched, and great numbers of Armenians flocked to the church for safety that night. Sunday morning the work began again at daybreak, and when the people reached the church the soldiers broke open the doors. Then entering, they began a butchery which became a great holocaust. It was participated in by many classes of Moslems. For two days the air of the city was unendurable; then began the clearing up. During two days we saw constantly men lugging sacks filled with bones and ashes. The dragging off of 1,500 bodies for burial in trenches was more quickly completed, some being taken on animals. The last work of all has been the clearing of the wells. From one very large well it is said that 60 bodies were taken. It is well authenticated that 20 bodies were taken from another well. About 300 persons escaped from the church by way of the roof, which was reached by a narrow staircase on the inside. Shortly after noon on Sunday, some fifteen or more of the prominent citizens and government officials (not including the Mutessarif, or the military commander), preceded by a military band and mounted guard, made a grand parade of the city. They entered our yard, and, speaking with me from the veranda, they assured me of perfect safety and begged me not to be alarmed, as it was 'nothing that pertained to me.' I very quickly went into my room.

"The work did not cease until dark on Sunday, the 29th. On Monday the Kurds and Arabs were prevented from entering the city, the firing beginning about dawn. All day Sunday a strong guard was about our premises. A captain of the army sat on his horse for hours at our northwest corner, just outside of the church premises. Repeatedly I received saluta-

tions and assurances of perfect safety from government officials during that longest day I ever knew. It was evident that the utmost was done to protect *me*. How willingly I would have died, that the thousands of *parents* might be spared for their children!

"The work of plunder is complete. Literally naught remains. By actual count only ten Protestant houses remain untouched, and five of these are in the district which I have spoken of as my shadow.

"Our loss of life is 105, all but nine being men. These nine include two women and seven children, who were in the Gregorian Church when it was sacked. Our wounded are many. I have eighteen under my immediate care. Most of these have several severe wounds. One has 11; one has 18; ghastly sword and axe cuts on head and neck. There are a few gunshot wounds. There is only one doctor for the whole city. He has 350, and cannot care for more, nor for these but in part. He came at my call to see one who we supposed must lose his hand, dressed the arm and committed the case to my care. Thus far, thank God, all are doing well. I have found three persons who, like myself, are inexperienced in such matters; but they are proving careful, sensible workers with me. We dress most of the wounds in the church. Our schoolrooms (all but one, used as headquarters of our guard) are crowded with some 250 or 300 of the most forlorn and needy. Our home is also full. Those who are spared to their families are in great fear, and wish to be near me. We cannot receive all, and it is hard to daily turn away so many. Some have a little food, found in their houses, and some nothing. One of the several great men who have called to express sympathy, and to say, Turkish style, 'It was from God,' has sent provisions, for which I am exceedingly grateful.

"The government provides about 200 loaves of bread per day for the poor. But all this kindness will soon come to an end, and utter poverty will be the lot of most. The Protestant pastor, the Rev. H. Abouhayatian, and several efficient members of the church, are among the dead. I tried to secure the body of the pastor, but failed. His children—six—they immediately granted to me.

"The custom in these affairs, so general in Turkey, seems to be for one party to rush ahead and kill. This is followed by another party which hurries off the women and children to some mosque, khan or some Moslem home temporarily open for their reception. Lastly, this operation is followed by the stripping of the house. Children often get separated from their parents

and are late in being found. One of the earliest offers made to me was to undertake finding any lost if I would send in the full name. My own guards, twenty in number since Sunday, do my every bidding as if I were a queen. I use them for help in all sorts of ways.

"Markets are closed, and it is very difficult to get some things much needed. We have had but forty-five beds given back to us of those plundered, and a few pieces of copper; as yet I fail to secure more, or instructions as to method of procedure for individuals to secure stolen goods. The government has large numbers of beds and much copper ware stored for return to the owners, but all fear to stir lest the end has not yet come.

"The aged Bishop of the Gregorians was spared, but only one, or possibly two priests.

"Our own teacher of the Boys' High School and several Gregorian teachers were killed. I believe the Gregorians are in greater suffering than the Protestants, having no foreigner to do for them, and any efficient ones spared are afraid to venture out.

"To-day the long-expected soldiers have arrived—eight or nine hundred. Our city has been guarded (?) by resident soldiers. We must have your prayers and your pecuniary aid. How are the people to live through this winter?

"URFA, January 7th, 1896."

CHAPTER XXV.

Character of the Massacres.

Massacres at Sivas, Cesarea, Birejik, Bitlis, and the Region of Mardin—Protection by the Turkish Government for the Jacobites—General Survey—Place and Time of the Massacres—Victims Exclusively Armenians—Effort to Destroy the Strength of the Nation—Motive—Responsibility of the Turkish Government and of the Sultan.

THE massacres at Sassun, Trebizond, Erzrum, Harput, Aintab, Marash and Urfa were in some respects the most important, though there were others where the loss of life was greater. Those included Diarbekir, where nearly if not quite 2,500 were slain; Gurun, in the mountainous region of the Taurus, where the number reached 3,000, and several where over 1,000 perished. With regard to most of these, full and accurate reports, however, are as yet wanting. This chapter includes briefer accounts of certain places, together with a brief survey of the general characteristics of all.

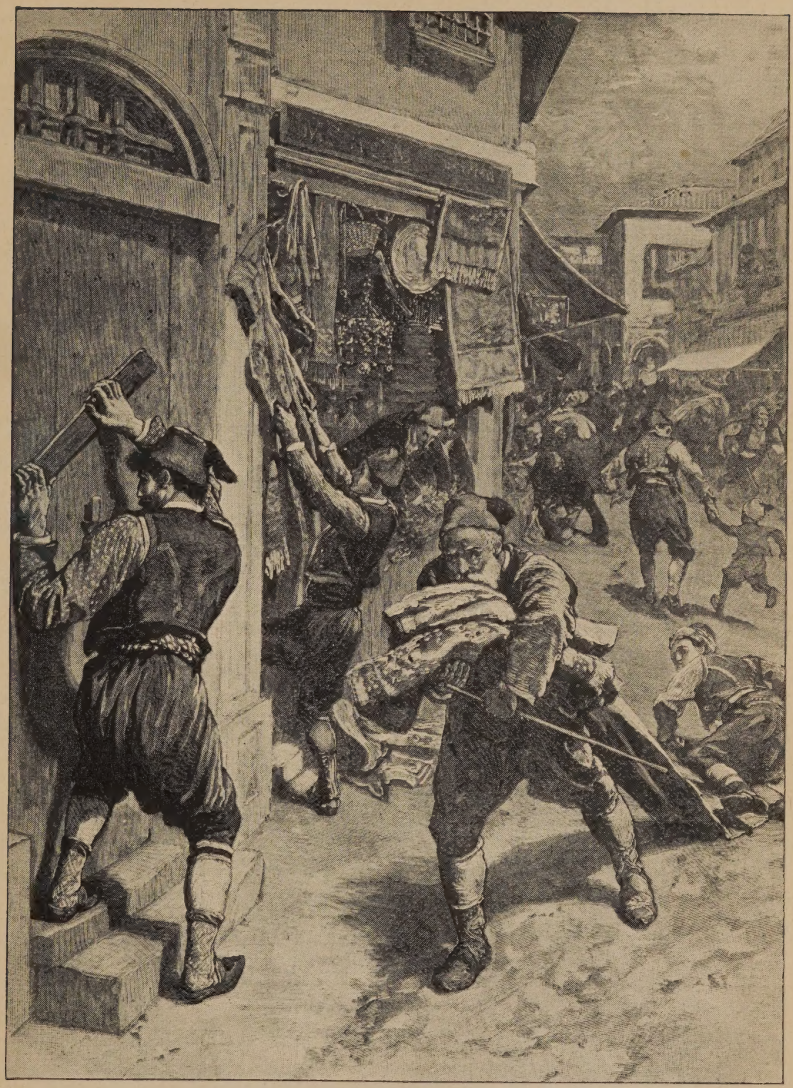
In Central Asia Minor, the most important city is that of Sivas. It is the capital of the province and the trade centre of a large section. Its population is Turkish and Armenian, the Turks being largely in the majority. There is also a considerable Kurdish element both in the city itself and in the mountainous section to the south. The following account of the outbreak was received from a perfectly reliable source:

"The outbreak began on the 12th (November) and was 'permitted' to continue for seven days; during this 'bloody week' about 1,200 Armenians and 10 Turks were killed. Suddenly at noon, as if at a given signal, the Turkish laborers seized their tools, clubs, or whatever was at hand; soldiers, Circassians and police with their arms, all under command of officers—aided by the Moslem women and children, rushed to the market to begin their dreadful work of killing, stripping the dead and looting the houses. No resistance was made by the Armenians, who seemed overpowered in the suddenness of the onslaught, the number of their armed assailants and the relentless ferocity with which they were pursued to their death. The shops of the Armenian merchants, whether wholesale or retail, were looted by the rioters and soldiers. Many of the merchants and their clerks were killed; thus at one blow the Armenian element was eliminated from the trade at Sivas. As the importing business had been in their hands almost exclusively, it is difficult to foresee anything to avert the impending financial disaster. The Armenian villagers in that vicinity have been robbed of everything, and the people are left to beg and die. A gentleman in high official standing, who has had unusual opportunities for information, uses the following language with regard to this affair: 'Don't be deceived by any of the silly government statements which attribute all these massacres to Armenians. It was a deliberate plan on the part of the government to punish the Armenians. The Sultan was irritated because he was forced to give them reforms, so he has had 7,000 Armenians killed to show his power, since he signed the scheme of reforms. The government has smashed some Turkish shop windows to show that the Armenians did it.' Food was scarce; everything was carried

off from the Armenian shops. There will be an immense amount of suffering all over the country. It is said to be a fact, that the Kaimakim (Governor) of Gurun telegraphed to the Vali (Governor-General of the Province) at Sivas, saying in effect, 'You may rest assured that there is not an Armenian left in Gurun.' The Armenians at Gurun made some resistance to being butchered and suffered worse for it. (Gurun is a large village about twenty-four hours from Sivas. It has a population of 10,000, one-half Armenians.)

"As the fury of this storm of blood and greed subsided, the stricken Armenians of Sivas slowly gathered the mangled and naked bodies of their kinsmen to their cemetery, where a great trench had been dug to hold the horrid harvest of death. A single priest read a short service over the long and ghastly rank; and thus was closed another chapter in the yet unfinished story of cruelty, lust and fanaticism."

West of Sivas, in the ancient province of Cappadocia, is the city of Cesarea. It has a large Moslem population, chiefly Turkish of pure blood, as is the greater part of the race in that section. The Christian population is both Armenian and Greek, the former being largely predominant in the city, though there are a number of Greek villages in the plain. The Armenians here, as in the region south of the Taurus, use Turkish chiefly and are noted for their general sturdiness of character, and furnished very little support for the Huntchagist movement. For the most part, their relations with the Turks have been friendly, and the governors of the city, which is in the province of Angora, have frequently been men of character who have endeavored to deal justly by all classes. Cesarea being outside of the six provinces mentioned in the general plan of reforms, there was hope that it



LOOTING IN STAMBOUL. Scene of the Riots. Breaking open stores and houses and stealing the goods of Armenians.

MASSACRE IN STAMBOUL. This is a sketch drawn by an eye-witness of the murder of Armenians by officers, Softas and Kurds in the streets of Stamboul.

would escape, but the following, from a letter by a resident, will tell the story of the scenes that followed close upon the news that came from other places.

"CESAREA, December 2d, 1895.

"At last the storm has struck us and the horror of the past three days is beyond description. On Saturday, at about 2 P. M., one of our school boys rushed into my room crying: 'The destruction has begun!' I hastened to our roof and saw the scene which has so often been enacted of late. Turks beating and killing every Armenian on whom they could lay their hands. Much of the fiendish work was carried on from the roofs of the houses, for here in Cesarea a large portion of the houses have flat mud roofs, and one can go nearly everywhere on the roofs, they being practically continuous.

"Turks swarmed over the houses, breaking in doors and windows, stoning, beating, cutting, shooting whoever opposed them, and many who did not. I succeeded several times in turning back the crowd from the roofs immediately adjoining our house, but beyond that I could do nothing. They evidently had strict orders to let us alone. . . . No special guard was sent to our house, but by calling upon passing soldiers I got temporary men stationed near our door, but they would stay but a few minutes, then were off to have their share in the business. However, we suffered no harm, but on the contrary, succeeded in protecting many whose houses were attacked. They came rushing over the roofs and up the ladder which I placed for them, until we had over sixty people under our narrow roof. (Later they had 109.) The strain was terrible for three hours, but after sundown it gradually quieted.

"Firing on the mob by the troops was absolutely forbidden until special orders to fire were received from Constantinople. This order was delayed till about sunset. I have this direct from soldiers and believe it to be true. From sunset on I give the government credit for making honest attempts to restore quiet. On Sunday A. M. there was considerable disturbance, quieted by noon. I then succeeded in getting two soldiers to accompany me to the governor—he gave me six men for a guard. This morning again there was disturbance, and a house near was attacked, but my men drove them away. The worst was at evening, and seems to be past, but what has been passes description. To-day I have been about looking up some

persons and seeing some of the wounded. Men and women were literally hacked to pieces; certainly several hundred, and some Turks say 1,000 were killed.

"Saturday, 7 P. M. Women as well as men were fearfully handled. Several thousand fierce fellows came from the neighboring Turkish villages to help on the diabolical work, and many women were carried away. This morning I was told that a bride and a young girl had been taken from a neighboring house to the house of a Turk near by. The husband who was in the market at the time, came and begged me to help him get them back. On going to the Turkish house with two of my soldiers I found that the girls had not been ill treated and the house owner readily gave them up. In order to save their lives they had said, 'We are Moslems.' I know of other Turkish families where Christians were sheltered. These are about the only bright spots in a very dark picture. To add to the horror, many houses were burned and some perished in the flames. Dr. Avedis Effendi (an influential preacher for many years), with wife and oldest son, were killed.

"I think the attack here was a concession to the thirsty mob, who could not see why they should not have their fling as well as those in Sivas and elsewhere.

"Our hearts are sick. We are so powerless to aid and comfort. Our school boys are all safe.

"December 3d. We breathe easier this morning, but I cannot be sure all danger is past. The method taken with the women was to demand that they proclaim themselves Moslems. If they refused, as many did, even girls from twelve to fifteen years of age, they were cut down mercilessly. This fact can be substantiated with the utmost ease. Should the troops withdraw, worse destruction is sure to follow. Neighboring villages have suffered still worse, many of them stripped once, and twice, and thrice, till nothing is left."

The city of Birejik is on the Euphrates, between Urfa and Aintab. It is a prosperous place, with a population of perhaps 10,000 to 12,000, overwhelmingly Moslem, partly Turkish, partly Arab in origin.

"After the massacre at Urfa, on the twenty-seventh of

October, 1895, the authorities at Birejik told the Armenians that the Moslems were afraid of them, and that therefore they (the Armenians) must surrender to the government any arms that they possessed. This was done, the most rigid search being instituted to assure the authorities that nothing whatever in the way of arms remained in the hands of the Armenians. This disarmament caused no little anxiety to the Armenians, since the Moslem population was very generally armed, and was constantly adding to its arms. In fact, during the months of November and December the Christians have been kept within their houses because the danger of appearing upon the streets was very great.

"Troops were called out by the government to protect the people. Since the soldiers had come to protect the Christians, the Christians were required to furnish animals for them to carry their goods. Then they were required to furnish them with beds and carpets, to make them more comfortable. Finally, they were required to furnish the soldiers with food, and they were reduced to a state bordering on destitution by these increasing demands.

"The end came on the first of January, 1896, when the news of the massacre of several thousands of Christians at Urfa by the soldiers appointed to guard them incited the troops at Birejik to imitate this crime. The assault on the Christian houses commenced about nine o'clock in the morning, and lasted until nightfall. The soldiers were aided by the Moslems of the city in the terrible work. The object at first seemed to be mainly plunder; but after the plunder had been secured, the soldiers seemed to make a systematic search for men, to kill those who were unwilling to accept Mohammedanism. The cruelty used to force men to become Moslems

was terrible. In one case the soldiers found some twenty people, men, women and children, who had taken refuge in a sort of cave. They dragged them out and killed all the men and boys because they would not become Moslems. After cutting down one old man, who had thus refused, they put live coals upon his body, and as he was writhing in torture they held a Bible before him and mockingly asked him to read them some of the promises in which he had trusted. Others were thrown into the river while still alive, after having been cruelly wounded. The women and children of this party were loaded up like goods upon the backs of porters and carried off to the houses of Moslems. Christian girls were eagerly sought after, and much quarreling occurred over the question of their division among their captors. Every Christian home except two, claimed to be owned by Turks, was plundered. Ninty-six men are known to have been killed, or about half of the adult Christian men. The other half have become Mussulmans to save their lives, so that there is not a single Christian left in Birejik to-day. The Armenian church has been made into a mosque and the Protestant church into a mosque school."

It was natural that after the Sassun massacre attention should be turned to that section of country, including the cities of Mush, Bitlis and Van. In Van the Armenians are very strong, probably not outnumbering the Moslems, who are chiefly Kurds, but so important an element that in a strife they would be able to defend themselves with considerable success. They are also of a generally higher grade of intelligence and force of character than most of the race, and have always been held somewhat in awe by the Turks. Their villages in the vicinity, however, have been subject to constant

raids by the Kurds, and have suffered terribly. Bitlis is one of the most picturesque cities in Turkey; surrounded by high mountains and divided among the valleys so that it is impossible to get a general view of it. It is almost entirely cut off from the surrounding country by the snow during a considerable part of the winter, and is at all times difficult of access. The population, both Kurdish and Armenian—there are very few Turks—is rough and uncouth in manners and appearance. It has always been a turbulent city, and it was inevitable that it should feel the pressure of the prevailing uneasiness throughout the empire. The situation is thus graphically described by a letter written early in December, 1895:

"The summer just past has been a quiet one, interest chiefly centering in the work of distribution at Sassun, where the gentlemen have been laboring five months, annoyed by every sort of opposition and insult on the part of the Turkish officials, and any success in their efforts is due entirely to the presence and vigorous support of the British Consul for Bitlis. Proof of the quietness of the region and of the confidence all felt in that future which was to be so wisely provided for by the ambassadors of the Christian nations of Europe, is found in the fact that the writer made, without apprehension, the four days' journey from Bitlis to Van, with the intention of staying a few weeks in the latter city. Three weeks later the storm broke. The Sultan accepted the scheme of reforms. The Moslems of Bitlis, forming a large majority of the population, and more fanatical than their co-religionists in other cities, had told the Armenians that in case of such acceptance the Turks would see to it that no Christian survived to be benefited by a new regime. The Armenians behaved most prudently—knew so vaguely, in fact, how much or how little the reforms promised, that they manifested neither elation nor anger.

"On Friday, Oct. 25th, the Moslems closed their shops and went to prayer in the mosques. Soon, at a given signal—the cry that the Armenians were attacking the mosques—the Turks rushed forth, closed the entrances to the bazars, and each man killed every Christian he could find. The Armenians

made no resistance; they had no arms and were taken by surprise, for the governor had given assurance of safety but the day before. The barracks were close by, the troops should have been on the spot on the instant, but some time elapsed before they set out for the scene of slaughter, and when they arrived the soldiers dispersed into out-of-the-way places and themselves took part in the butchery. Repeated bugle calls had preceded the attack; after three hours the bugles 'called off,' the slaughter ceased, and the work of plundering began; and in this the troops took a very active part. Men, women and children joined in carrying off everything of the slightest value; goods, materials, instruments used in the trades, and what was of no use to them was burned, till the markets were swept absolutely bare.

"The number of slain accounted for was about 500, but the actual number must far exceed that. The Turks themselves buried fifty Armenians in order that it might be supposed that so many Moslems had perished. In reality, only one was known to have been killed. The governor soon after imprisoned forty leading Armenians, and with threats of still more fearful massacre tried to make them sign a paper which laid the blame of the affair on the Armenians. This they would not do, but so great was the pressure that not a few signed the following statement to be telegraphed to the Sublime Porte and patriarchate: 'Several ignorant and low fellows from our community, induced by evil designs, were the cause of this trouble, and got their punishment in being killed. We that are left are loyal to the Sultan and grateful for his gracious government.'"

On the northern edge of the great Mesopotamia plains, fully 1,000 feet above the plain, is the city of Mardin. It is the centre of the Jacobite community, who are found not merely on the plain, but in the rough and mountainous country through which the Tigris runs, and extending nearly to Bitlis. There are few Armenians, but the Kurds are very powerful and very hostile to all Christians, as has already been described in certain chapters of this book. It was inevitable that they should look with considerable jealousy upon their more favored comrades glutted with Armenian plunder. They could see no difference between

one Christian and another. All were alike infidels, all under the ban of the Prophet, all alike proper booty for them. They therefore gathered in numbers in the mountains, attacked whatever villages they could with reasonable safety and came up to the borders of Mardin. The following is from an eye-witness:

"The beginning of trouble for us here at Mardin was determined by the outbreak which began in Diarbekir after the midday prayer on Friday, November 1st. The riot continued for three days; Kurds from without riding in, looting and firing shops and houses adjacent to the market. When the Kurds were expelled from the city and the gates closed against them, they turned their attention to the villages. These one after another were taken, plundered, and in many instances burned; the massacres being generally in proportion to the degree of resistance made by the villages. A district about ninety miles long and fifty broad, east of Diarbekir and up to the borders of Sert, in the province of Bitlis, was swept by this hurricane of destruction wherever Christian villages nestled among the billows of this rolling country. We are not yet in position to estimate the number of killed and wounded in cities, towns and villages.

"The first intimation that the wave of wanton wreckage was moving southward was given in the attack upon Tel Ermin, Wednesday, November 6th. This papal Armenian town of 200 houses and 60 shops, five hours (20 miles) west of Mardin, was taken on the following day, plundered and burned. The next day Goeli, a Syrian village south of Mardin, and only two hours (8 miles) off, shared the same fate. At about the same time three other villages fell into the hands of the Kurds, and only one, 20 minutes north of the city, remained intact. This they tried to capture, but were driven back. The Kurdish tribes on every side were determined to attack Mardin after finishing their destruction of the villages. Meanwhile the local government was actively preparing for defense and the leading men of the city, both Moslems and Christians, in a most fraternal spirit, joined their efforts to those of the government to prevent a repetition of what had occurred at Diarbekir. On Saturday and Sunday, November 9th and 10th, three serious attempts were made by the Kurds to enter the city, in the hope that they would be aided from within. In this they were disappointed,

especially when they were fiercely attacked by the very parties on whom they were relying to let them in. They were obliged to draw off with severe loss. The Kurds persistently asserted that a firman for the slaughter of the Christians had been given, but that the Christians of Mardin had bribed the government to conceal it and defend them. When the Kurds realized that the government and city were a unit for the common defense, they drew off and the tide of attack swept farther east, taking Nisibin and some twenty Christian villages in its way. Many of the latter were also burned. Midyat, like Mardin, resisted all attacks.

"The result of all this is that already some 3,500 refugees are collected here with a prospect of more to follow. In the village of Kulleth, nine hours (36 miles) east, 300 refugees from the Diarbekir plain are begging food and clothing. The entire Christian population remaining in Sert have been stripped of everything. Large measures of relief will need to be instituted before winter is over, or thousands will die from exposure and hunger."

Similar scenes occurred in other places. There was, in general, however, considerable effort on the part of the government to protect these Jacobite Christians. In the city of Mosul, the governor's orders were very positive that there be no trouble at all, and in numerous villages the soldiers not merely drove off the Kurds, but escorted the villagers to places of safety.

A general survey of the massacres brings out certain very distinct facts, which should be kept in mind in considering their nature and their effect.

1. With only five exceptions of consequence, the massacres were confined to the territory of the six provinces in Eastern Turkey where reforms were to be instituted. These places were Trebizond, Marash, Aintab, Urfa and Cesarea. Every other massacre of any prominence occurred within the very provinces for which the reforms were promised. In those four places the Moslems were excited by the nearness of the

scenes of massacre and by the reports of the plunder which the other Moslems were securing.

2. The massacre in Trebizond occurred just before the Sultan, after months of every kind of opposition, was compelled to give his assent to the scheme of reforms, and from there the wave spread over the whole empire.

3. The victims were almost exclusively Armenians. The large Greek population in Trebizond and also in the vicinity of Cesarea, suffered scarcely at all, and the Jacobite population in the region of Mardin not more than would necessarily be expected from the incursions of the Kurds. Special care was taken to avoid injury to the subjects of foreign nations, apparently with the idea of escaping foreign complications and the payment of indemnities. The damage done to American buildings in Harput and in Marash was apparently in direct disobedience to special orders sent, and in those places, as well as in Aintab, Urfa, Cesarea, Bitlis, Marsovan, and indeed in every place where there were foreigners, the strictest orders were given that no harm whatever should come to them. A notable instance of this was in the city of Urfa, where an American lady missionary was protected by troops from the fanatical Moslem populace even at considerable risk to themselves.

4. With slight exceptions, the method was to kill within a limited period the largest number possible of Armenian men, especially those of capacity, intelligence and wealth, and to ruin their families by looting their property. Thus, in the city of Ak-Hissar, not far from Nicomedia, the order was distinctly given, "Kill the men; the women and children will then fall to us." In several places the most explicit promises had been given that there would be no danger to those who opened

their shops, and yet in almost every place a sudden and simultaneous attack on the market-place was made just at noon when shop-keepers and clerks were in their shops and unable to flee. The perpetrators were also in almost every place the resident Moslem population, reinforced by Lazes, Kurds and Circassians. Exception must be made of certain cities, as Erzrum, Erzingan and Harput, and to a degree, Aintab, where the soldiers of the regular army took a part in the work, and in two instances commenced and closed the massacre itself at the signal of the bugle. In a few instances, as at Diarbekir, Arabkir, Malatia and Gurun, the Armenians undertook to defend themselves, and in those places the slaughter was terrible, reaching not less than 2,000, and in some cases 3,000. The plunder was complete. The shops were absolutely gutted, even the doors and windows of the houses were carried away, and in the market-places not a single article of merchandise could be found. In many places even the clothing worn by men, women and children was stripped from them and they were obliged to flee naked.

5. The motive, so far as it has to deal with their religious fanaticism, is dwelt upon in a succeeding chapter. So far as the political element was concerned, it was evidently a firm resolve to crush out the only element of the Christian population which appeared to have any chance of asserting itself against the Moslem Government. The Moslems everywhere felt that their supremacy was at stake, and that unless these Armenians were thoroughly suppressed, they would, with the support of Europe, gain the upper hand. Only thus can be explained the apparent destruction of the best of the tax-paying element in the empire. The thought was to make sure of their political supremacy, and no other way of secur-

ing this could be conceived than by diminishing the number of the Armenians and utterly destroying the power of the survivors.

6. The responsibility for this whole movement must rest with the Central Government at Constantinople. A brief survey of the events in their chronological order will make this apparent. The trouble in the Sassun region commenced in 1893 with contests between the Armenian villagers and the Kurds, in which the Kurds were worsted. They appealed to the Turkish Government, which supported them with regular troops. Officials went to the Armenians, charging them with revolution. This charge was denied; absolute loyalty to the Sultan was avowed, and subsequent investigations of the commission proved that this avowal was genuine. The fact of the appearance of an occasional member of the revolutionary party by no means involved the endorsement of that party by the entire community. During 1894 the pressure from Europe became more and more strong, and through various sections of the country went the statement by officials and by priests that there was an organized effort to make the Armenians supreme and to destroy the Turkish power. The massacres at Sassun in the fall of 1894 were absolutely unprovoked, as has been shown above. The statements of the Turkish Government with regard to them were proven to be absolutely false. The men who were directly responsible for them were honored by the Sultan himself with decoration and promotion. Then followed the summer of 1895, during which repeated pressure from the European powers was brought to bear upon the Turkish Government for reform, and as persistently refused by that government. If it be granted that the disturbance in Constantinople was occasioned

by unwise action of Armenian revolutionists, the riot by the Softas, which was not checked by the Turkish Government, was allowed as an indication of what might happen. The massacre at Trebizond commenced in the courtyard of the government house, and the governor himself was in direct telegraphic communication with Constantinople throughout the whole massacre. From Trebizond the wave spread southward and then in every direction over the empire. In every case promises made by officials of the Turkish Government were not only not kept, but were ostentatiously disregarded. In every case the police or soldiers of the regular army either looked on and did nothing to hinder the massacre and pillage, or took a direct share in it. The conduct of the Turkish Government throughout the whole and since, in absolutely denying statements that were perfectly well known to be true; in making misrepresentation upon misrepresentation; in throwing obstacle after obstacle in the way of those who would bring relief to the people, and in its methods of treatment with the foreign Powers, makes it very evident that it understood the situation, but did not wish it known.

To suppose that all this could happen through a series of years and months without the immediate knowledge of the government, is to assume that the government is entirely ignorant of the most important details of its administration, and no one who has followed the course of Turkish history for the past three years will admit that this is possible. The officials in Constantinople knew just exactly what was going on over their empire and did absolutely nothing to hinder it. Whether direct orders were sent from Constantinople to the local officials instructing them as to the day and hour of commencing and closing the

massacres, it is probably impossible to say. There are many things that point in that direction, but it will require later and more full investigation to establish that fact. As to the personal responsibility of the Sultan, various positions have been taken. He has been described as so kindly and cordial, so sympathetic with his people, as to be utterly incapable of having anything to do with such wholesale destruction in his empire. The secrets of the Palace are not yet known. It is sufficient, however, to say that, with possibly the exception of Mahmud II, no Sultan has ever lived who gave such minute attention to the administration of the internal affairs of his empire. To suppose that he was ignorant is to belie his whole past history; to suppose that he knew, but could not prevent, is to credit him with a weakness that would be indignantly repudiated by every Turk in the empire.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Religious Persecution.

Motive of the Massacres—Primarily Political, then Religious—The Religious Element Overpowering the Political—Dread of Christian Domination—False Statements by the Turkish Government—Instances of Persecution and Enforced Conversion to Islam—A Tremendous Moral Disaster—Efforts of the Government to Suppress Reports.

THE previous chapters have been confined chiefly to the physical aspects of the massacres. There has been, however, another side that is even more appalling, and that is the moral and religious disaster. The question is often asked whether this is a religious persecution. The question is not an altogether easy one to answer. From one point of view it is purely religious, from another, purely political. The truth probably is, that in the East the two are so inseparably associated that it is impossible to distinguish accurately between them. To the Moslem, every Christian is either a slave or an enemy, to be taxed for service or to be destroyed. So long as the Armenians made no effort for political power, they were slaves; the moment they showed hostility to or impatience with Moslem rule, they became enemies. It made no difference whether that hostility was actual or not; if it had any existence in the minds of the Turks the result was the same. It is unquestionable that there was a widespread

belief among the Turks that Moslem rule was in danger, not merely from the revolt of the Armenians, but from the assistance assured, as they believed, to the Armenians by the European Powers. Hence, first of all, their hostility was directed against them, and so far it was distinctively political. They began to realize, however, that murder, pure and simple, was not going to accomplish their purpose. How was it to be done? There was only one other method—forced conversion. What this means, no one who has not had some personal knowlege of Mohammedan lands can fully imagine. To the political hate and savage desire for plunder was added the ferocity of Moslem propaganda. Any one who has read in history the record of religious persecutions can form a faint conception of what that means, but to understand to the full is given to few people. At the risk of occasional repetition we give some instances of the manifestation of this destructive religious character of the massacres. It will be noticed that parallel with forced conversion has gone the outraging of women. So long as the chief idea seemed to be the suppression of a supposed political revolt, or the looting of property, this was not so noticeable. The moment, however, that religious fanaticism came to the front, the most brutal sensuality was made manifest. A significant comment on Mohammedanism.

"At Chunkush, in the province of Diarbekir, there were 6,000 Armenian Christians. On the 4th of November, the first attack was made and the town was partially pillaged. On the 8th, 11th and 14th of November, these attacks on the Christian houses were repeated. The Protestant church, school and parsonage, and many other buildings were burned by the Turks. 880 Armenians were butchered, and

the remainder were forced to accept Mohammedanism at the point of the sword.

"In Palu, in the same province, in the month of August, the governor called upon the Christian notables and told them that he had received orders to tell them that the Sultan had decided to introduce reforms, but that the reforms would be with the sword. This speech reported to the British Embassy at the time, led to the removal of the governor. On the 5th of November, this town was plundered by the Kurds and Turkish troops with but little shedding of blood. On the 11th of November, the attacking force returned, and out of a total Christian population of 2,400 they slaughtered 1,580 souls. The Protestant chapel was demolished, and the school and parsonage were taken as barracks for the troops. On the 10th of December, but 300 Christians were left in Palu, and they were at the point of perishing with hunger. The government issued bread to keep them alive, but the public ovens refused to sell to Christians. The policy seemed to be to keep the people at the point of deepest misery, in order to force them to become Mohammedans. The distribution of bread by the government consisted of the filling of several baskets with pieces of bread and emptying the baskets into the street for the people to scramble for the bread. A number of Christian families, driven by hunger, fled to the city of Harput, about thirty-five miles away, where there is a Governor-General. They hoped that this high Turkish official would at least give them protection and bread to eat, since it had been announced that the government intended to feed all the suffering ones. On arrival at Harput, however, they were bitterly disappointed. They were simply put under arrest and sent back to starve at Palu. At

AFTER THE SLAUGHTER. Scene from an actual Photograph, showing how the able-bodied defenseless Armenians were butchered in great numbers and left where they fell.

BURYING THE ARMENIANS. A view of how thousands of the murdered Armenians were buried in great trenches after the massacres.

Severek, in the province of Diarbekir, out of a Christian population of 2,900, nearly all of the males, in all 750 persons, were killed. This left the authorities free to regard all the women and children as Moslems, and they were distributed among the Mohammedan populace to be taken into their houses.

"At Urfa, after the massacre and pillage which took place on the 27th and 28th of October, the police went around from house to house in the Christian quarter announcing that the people must accept Mohammedanism. They carried axes to break open the doors. All who refused they killed on the spot. Those who accepted the offer were required to put white turbans on their heads and to hang white flags on their houses. The number of white flags displayed seemed innumerable after three days of this sort of work. Shortly after this a storm arose which carried away many of the white flags. They were not renewed, since the people understood that the government would not recognize these forced conversions. But on the 28th and 29th of December, these people were attacked by the Turks and over 1,500 of them were killed as apostates from Islamism. At Albistan, in the same province, after the massacre began, the people were overpersuaded by the assurance that all the Christians in the empire were being killed, and nearly the whole Christian population accepted Mohammedanism on this representation.

"At Adiaman, in the province of Harput, on the other hand, the same story was used without effect, and out of the Christian population of 800, only 20 were left alive. At Husenik, in the province of Harput, the Armenian priest was tortured to force him to become a Mohammedan. On his persistent

refusal, and while he was still living, his body was obscenely mutilated, and at last the poor man found rest in death. The Protestant preacher in this village and a large number of the people accepted Mohammedanism in order to escape the fate inflicted upon this martyred priest. At Gamirgab, in the same province, after the Turks and Kurds had pillaged all the Christian houses, they burned 70 houses which could be fired without endangering the Turkish houses, and removed doors and windows from the remainder so as to render them uninhabitable. The head master of the government school in the place, one Ali Effendi, then called the Christians together, and told them he would order them massacred at once if they did not accept Mohammedanism. The people accepted the new religion, but appealed for relief to their bishop at Egin. On demand of the bishop, the governor ordered that these new converts should be released from their promise of conversion, and now the people live in hourly fear of massacre as apostates from the Mohammedan faith.

"At Arabkir, in the province of Harput, on the 6th of November, Turkish civilians aided by soldiers suddenly made an attack upon the Armenian shops in the market. Arabkir had an Armenian population of about 18,000, and a Turkish population of about 30,000. When the Turks began to attack the Armenian houses, the Armenians resisted. Then the authorities called in Kurds from the surrounding region and made a systematic destruction of the Christian quarters of the city. The horrible work lasted six days, and at the end of that time 4,000 Christians had been killed, and 2,750 Christian houses had been burned. Many of the survivors accepted Islamism in order to escape. All alike, however, were stripped of everything they had in the world, and in

some cases even of their clothing. The narrative of one of the survivors, an entirely trustworthy woman, gives a vivid impression of the horror of the experience: "On the 5th of November, our Turkish neighbors, with whom we have always been on good terms, came to tell us that orders had come to kill the Christians, but that seeing our house was next to theirs they would like to help us, and that if we would pay them for it they would defend us. After some bargaining it was agreed that we should pay them $25.00 for the service. This was not easy to find, but we gathered all the money that we had and what jewels we possessed, and so satisfied them. On Tuesday the massacre began by an attack upon the market and then upon the houses. The roar of the firing and the shrieks of the women were awful, but our friends defended us. That night there was no sleep for us, for the attacks on the houses and the firing kept up all night. The next morning our Turkish friends said to us: 'We have fulfilled our promise, but the massacre is still going on, and we can defend you no longer unless you become Moslems. Otherwise you will all be killed.' The firing was going on all the time and houses were being set on fire, and the smoke made it seem as if the end of the world had come. I fell on my knees before my father, who was the only man in our household of nine people, and begged him not to swerve from his faith in Jesus Christ. He rebuked me for thinking such a thing of him. We all prayed for help and waited to see what would come. That day my father was killed, but they did not kill us because we were only women. But they made us go for three days into a house with a great many other women, while they robbed our house of everything. They did not burn the house because their own house would have burned also.

After they had taken everything from our house, they let us go back into it, and thought themselves very kind for doing so. Crowds of our friends who were left without shelter came to the house, and we have about 50 people in every room, all without bedding and all without food. What is to become of us?"

"At Tadem, in the same province, out of 1,800 Armenians 270 were killed. The survivors escaped only by accepting Mohammedanism. Two Armenian priests were killed, one after shameful mutilation. Of the outrages on women there is no use in trying to keep account. They are universal and hardly attract attention. At Tadem, a Turkish notable was selling Christian women to Turks and Kurds in exchange for horses and donkeys, as long as a month after the massacre. He also kept a certain number of Christian women whom he presented for the night to any police or soldiers who passed through the village on their rounds. The same atrocious practice is reported from other places also.

"In the provinces of Harput and Diarbekir alone, over 8,000 Armenian houses have been burned, and more than 15,000 Christians are known to have been killed, while every day adds to the list. Fifty or more Armenian ecclesiastics are known to have been killed for refusing to accept Mohammedanism, and the list of martyrs among the Protestant pastors has risen to twenty. Some of these are among the best and most influential men in the Protestant community. In connection with this subject one incident may be mentioned. At Cesarea, in the province of Angora, on the 30th of November, 600 Christians were murdered by the Turks of the city. In one of the Protestant houses of the city a father and his little daughter, twelve years of age, were alone, the mother having

gone to visit a married daughter before the massacre began. A fierce-looking Turk suddenly burst into the room where the little girl was sitting. He spoke to the child in as kind a voice as he could command. "My child," said he, "your father is dead because he would not accept the religion of Islam. Now I shall have to make you a Mohammedan, and if you will agree to it I will take you to my house and you will have everything that you want, just as if you were my daughter. Will you become a Mohammedan?" The little girl replied: "I believe in Jesus Christ. He is my Saviour. I love him. I cannot do as you wish, even if you kill me." Then the ruffian fell upon the poor child with his sword and slashed and stabbed her in twelve different places. What followed no one knows. The house was pillaged and burned and the body of the father was burned in it. But that evening a cart was brought by a Turkish neighbor to the house in another part of the city where the mother of the little girl was staying. The Turk said to her, "I have brought you the body of your little girl. You are my friend and I could not leave it. I am very sorry for what has happened." The mother took the body of the little girl into the house, and found that there was still life in it. A surgeon was summoned. He restored the child to her senses, and she is now in a fair way to recovery.

"Another indirect method of destroying the Christian communities in these provinces must be referred to. As if for the purpose of destroying self-respect and the grounds of religious hope, a systematic course of debauching Christian women has been kept up in some of these provinces. At Tamzara, in the district of Sharka Kara Hissar, in the province of Sivasall, the men were killed in the massacres

early in November. From a well-to-do Armenian population of 1,500, all that remain are about 300 starving and half-naked women and children. Trustworthy information from this place, dated the twenty-fourth of January, says that the most horrible feature of the situation of these women is, that passing Mohammedan soldiery or civilian travelers attack them and outrage them in their houses without hesitation and without restraint. This license has been observed toward these wretched women during all of the three months since the massacres.

"Information from Mezreh, the seat of government in the Province of Harput, dated the twenty-seventh of January, says that the same license to abuse Christian women exists in that province also. Within sight and hearing of the Governor-General's palace, Mohammedan young men have broken into Christian houses by night and worked their infernal pleasure upon the women of the houses. It is not once or twice that this thing has happened, but it is week after week, until the women are reduced to the condition of public prostitutes without will of their own."

In view of such facts, it is scarcely surprising that a missionary wrote as follows:

"The world will have heard of the physical side of the disasters which have come upon this country. The moral aspect is still more deplorable. When the Saracens conquered these lands, they offered the people the alternatives of the Koran, tribute or the sword. These Moslems first strip the people of everything, commit other nameless outrages, and then the only alternative presented is Islam or death; and this in the nineteenth century. Hundreds of people have accepted martyrdom rather than deny their faith. Many more, some

from fear of death, and others to save their families from a fate worse than death, have formally accepted Mohammedanism. In most of the villages and towns in this region, the majority of the survivors who were not able to flee, are now professed Moslems. Throughout all this wide Harput mission field, there is probably scarcely a Christian service held among Gregorians or Protestants outside of this quarter of the city. Although the church here was burned, our Sunday services have been maintained in the college. Churches have become mosques, and the trembling Christians are taught to pray after the Mohammedan form. Schools, of course, are disbanded, although we are gathering together the boys of our male department at the college; and we hope to do the same for girls if we can secure rooms outside, as the girls' college is a complete ruin.

"Every day, from morning till night, our hearts are torn by the recital of the most horrible tales of bloodshed and outrage and heartless persecution. Some of our best and worthiest men tell of the agony which they suffer from the position which they hold as Mohammedans in form, while their whole being revolts against it. They say: 'We would welcome martyrdom with cruel torture, if only our wives and children could be saved from the clutches of these men by death or by some sort of freedom. We have gladly surrendered our homes to the flames and our property to plunder; but we cannot sacrifice our families.' Here is a very serious problem. Of course we cannot justify this position; and yet, when we see the fate of many of these helpless families, bereft of their protectors, it is not in our hearts to reproach those who have saved their lives by this hypocrisy. Either alternative is dreadful; and to stand in the presence of such

calamities so utterly helpless, except to cry to God in the agony of our hearts, is a trial which we never expected to experience.

"Of course, we cannot tell what the outcome will be. We believe that God has a people here, and that in some way, out of all this ruin, he will rebuild his Church; but at present the outlook is dark in the extreme. Many of the churches, parsonages and schools have been destroyed, how many we do not know, for the country is in such a state that traveling is very unsafe and reports come in slowly. We know that seven of our pastors and six preachers have been killed, and we may hear of still others. Few of the preachers remain at their posts. Not only would they be put under a pressure to accept Islam, but they are hated because they are understood to be promoters of freedom of thought. Then, too, where their congregations are recognized as Mohammedans, their presence among them would not be tolerated."

As these facts have been spread abroad, a storm of indignation has arisen over the entire Christian world, such that even the Turks dared not disregard it, and accordingly, "early in January the local officials of the provinces of Harput and Diarbekir sent orders to the recently 'converted' villages, on no account to admit, in case they are asked, that they were forced to become Mohammedans. The people were informed that death would be the penalty for any complaint respecting the compulsion used to force them to accept Mohammedanism. There are 15,000 of these forced converts in the province of Harput alone, and about 40,000 of them in the whole region devastated by the massacres. If the European Powers would send a commission through the provinces to learn the real

facts, they could easily verify these statements, and if they could let the people know that they would not be betrayed to the Turks, they would find that these people are pleading for relief from the servitude to a hated religion into which they have been forced. If the Powers could demand of the Ottoman Government the issue of a proclamation condemning these military conversions, and giving the victims of them liberty to return to their own faith without incurring the death penalty which has now been pronounced against them, the mass of the people would gladly return to the Armenian Church.

"Information from several points in the provinces of Sivas, Harput, Diarbekir, Bitlis and Van, shows that the process of forcing Christians to become Mohammedans is still actively used. Week by week the Christian population is warned that all who have not accepted Mohammedanism are to be massacred. Every Friday is a day of terror for the Christians in all of these provinces. Constant pressure is exerted to induce people in despair to deny their faith. In the country districts neither priest nor pastor dare venture out of their hiding, for they would be instantly killed as men who would interfere with the conversion of the people. In the villages, Christian worship is generally prohibited throughout the six provinces of the reform scheme. In twenty-eight villages in the district of Harput, there had been, at last accounts (January 30, 1896), no Christian worship since the first of November. This abolition of Christian worship among a Christian people is simply a part of the purpose to abolish Christianity."

We close this chapter with a few illustrations drawn from places well known, and in regard to which there can be no possible question:

"Saturday evening, November 2d, the inhabitants of Kutturbul, just across the Tigris, east of Diarbekir, took refuge from the Kurds in the large stone church of the Jacobite Syrians, to which they had already moved their household goods. Fugitives from three other villages, which had been attacked the day before, had also taken refuge here, so the church was packed with goods and people. That night the Kurds, with some men from Diarbekir, surrounded the church and began to shoot into the high, narrow windows by which it is lighted. Aboshe Jacob, pastor of the Protestant church of the village, was the first one struck, but his wound was not serious, and he kept on his feet, giving such comfort as he could to his distressed companions. Seeing little effect from their efforts to dislodge the people and get at the booty, about midnight the Kurds tore up part of the vaulted roof, and first throwing in firebrands through the opening, then poured kerosene down upon the blaze, at the same time firing their guns into the defenseless crowd of men, women and children. A frantic rush was made for the door; but it was locked, and could be opened only with the key from the outside. As is the case with most of the old churches, in order to prevent their desecration by being used as stables for horses, the door was very small, only some four and a half feet high by two and a half feet wide. After much effort it was finally broken open, and the smoke-stifled, flame-scorched, terror-stricken crowd poured out from the narrow egress, only to meet a deadly shower of bullets from the surrounding Kurds.

"Among the crowd was Pastor Jurjis Khudhershaw Anteshalian, a graduate from our Theological Seminary in 1868; for some years pastor of the church in Mosul, later engaged in evangelical work in Egypt, whence he had but recently

come to visit relatives. As he came out he was at once recognized by his beard and intelligent face as one of the clergy, and was seized, thrown down and clubbed. One of the books which had been scattered about by the marauders was thrust into his mouth, and he was mockingly called upon to read the church service. Firebrands were then thrown upon him, and as, restored to partial consciousness by the pain, he began to crawl away, he was clubbed again, drawn back and burned to ashes.

"The next to suffer was Pastor Hanoosh Melki, of Karabash, three hours east of Kutturbul; a classmate of Pastor Jurjis, an earnest worker, and especially efficient as an evangelist. He was ordained and installed pastor of the Karabash church at the time of its organization, but had resigned, and was expecting a call to the church in Sert, which was then on the way to him. Kurds attacked the village Saturday afternoon, November 2d, but were repulsed; and that night most of the unarmed villagers took refuge in the large buildings erected around the outskirts of the village for dovecots. Having received large reinforcements during the night, the Kurds renewed the attack at daybreak Sunday, in spite of a cold, driving rain which had set in, and, getting possession of the village toward noon, began their horrible work of pillage, burning and slaughter. As soon as Pastor Hanoosh, in the dovecot where his family and many others had taken refuge, knew that the village had been taken, he tried to open the small door opposite one at which the Kurds were already trying to force an entrance. Before he could get it open they broke in, and he was the first to meet them. Judging from his beard that he was the priest of the village, they supposed he, of course, would have a large sum of money with him.

He only had some bread, and taking a loaf from his bosom he gave it to one of them. They were enraged at this, yet would have spared him had he but raised one finger in token of acceptance of Islam. Refusing to do this, he was struck down by a sword and killed before the eyes of his wife and children. His body was then stripped and his family plundered.

"The third to fall was Hanna Sehda, son of one of the first pastors, a member of our last theological class, and a preacher of much promise. After graduating in 1890, he ministered for a time to the Sert Church, of which his father had formerly been for a long time pastor. He refused its urgent and oft-repeated call to become its pastor, and had been for only a few months with the Karabash church, which liked him much and had just built a parsonage for him. That Sabbath morning he led his wife, a graduate of our Girls' High School, and their three little children out of the dovecot, where, with many others, they had taken refuge the night before, and fled to a village half an hour away, which had already been plundered, and where they thought, for a time at least, they might be safe. Benumbed with the cold and rain, they were glad to find in one of the vacant houses a supply of fuel—cowdung mixed with straw, and made up into large cakes—and soon had a comfortable fire. Here they were joined by Pastor Hanoosh's widow and children and others. Toward sunset a roving band of Kurds came upon them as they were grouped around the fire, and stripped them of most of what was still left them. Later, another band came, and, enraged at finding nothing left for them to plunder, turned upon the men. These, seeing that the Kurds meant to kill them, rushed out, and made their escape in the darkness, though fired upon. Hanna

had taken his two little boys out with him, but finding he could not get away with them, he let go their hands and made off. Already faint with hunger and stiff with cold, he could make but slow progress. So he was soon overtaken by the Kurds, to whom he refused to yield by accepting Islam to save his life. The last seen of him by one of his church-members as he looked back in his flight, he was extending his arms to ward off the sword-blow which hewed him down, after which a gun was discharged into his body. A few days after, one of his congregation, compelled by Moslems to go to the village where he was killed, saw that his body had been burned. His baby girl and youngest boy died that night from exposure, while the elder boy and his fair-looking mother were led away into captivity, from which, however, they were recovered later and are now at her father's house.

"The fourth victim was Pastor Aboshe, of Kutturbul, already mentioned as the first one wounded in the church Saturday night before the roof was broken in. He escaped through the broken door, and though thrust with daggers as he passed out, made off in the darkness and climbed a tree in which he stayed till near morning. Then he got down stealthily, and made his way to a house in which cut straw was stored, where he stayed hidden until Monday noon, when he felt sufficiently revived to go out in search of his scattered family. He found them in a deserted bath not far from their own house, his wife uninjured, one child killed, a married daughter lying in a corner fatally wounded, in attempting to protect her husband who was killed, the eldest son severely wounded, while a younger daughter had been carried away captive. They passed Monday night caring tenderly for the wounded daughter, mourning over the captivity of the younger one,

and praying for deliverance from further woes. Tuesday a roving band of Kurds went through the village to see if anything were still left to plunder, and, finally coming to the yard of the bath-house, began to abuse some of the pastor's congregation who had gathered there, as it was a more protected place than most. The pastor, overhearing them, went out to try to persuade them to cease from further barbarities toward those who had already suffered so much. Perceiving that he was a 'spiritual head,' as the clergy are called, the Kurds at once called on him to renounce his faith and embrace Islam. He fixed a steady gaze on them, but said nothing. 'Ha!' said one, 'see how the *kafir* (infidel) still holds stoutly to his faith.' Another said to him: 'Just raise *one finger* (this is accepted by them as a confession of *one God:* Mohammed His prophet), and you will not be harmed.' Instantly he calmly replied: 'I shall never raise my finger.' Immediately a Kurd near him made a thrust at him with a straight dagger, while another a little farther away put a bullet through him, right in the presence of several of his flock. His firm faith and bold confession of it in the presence of death was the weightiest sermon they had ever heard from his lips. He was the most scholarly and refined among all our native helpers. He came of an educated, priestly family, and his grandfather was the author of a grammatical work in ancient Syriac. Mr. Andrus' first sermon in Kutturbul years ago from the text, 'Son, go work to-day in my vineyard,' was the means of his conversion and of bringing him later into the ministry. Soon after graduating from the theological seminary he became pastor of the church in his native village, Kutturbul, and during his pastorate had erected a beautiful little chapel, the finest in our field; now, alas! used as a sheep-

fold, while the adjoining school building has been burned. Out of his congregation of 161 souls, 98 went with him into eternity, and of the 63 remaining, 18 of them are wounded; most are scattered abroad—some of them we know not where. Half of our pastors have fallen, 'not accepting deliverance;' half our churches are scattered; one-third of our stations are destroyed. But God *still reigns* (Ps. 2). He is faithful and true, and His promises *sure*. Pray with us that the desolate places may speedily be rebuilt; that His Church, purified and quickened by this tempest of persecution, may apply itself with fresh faith and zeal to His work; and that He will shortly accomplish His purpose of grace for this land."

CHAPTER XXVII.

Relief Work.

The General Situation—Absolute Destitution—Appeals to America and England—Work in the Sassun Region—Van and Dr. Kimball—Appeals following the Greater Massacres—Clara Barton and the Red Cross—Opposition of the Turks—Letter from Van—After the Massacre in Harput—Suffering in the Villages—Appeal for Help.

NO one can fully understand what these massacres have meant to the Armenian people who does not understand their manner of life; and no one can understand that manner of life by mere description. It must be seen and experienced. A few general remarks, however, will assist. In the first place it must be remembered that there is absolutely no system anywhere in Turkey of banking by which savings can be put aside. Whatever of money is accumulated is immediately invested in land or business, is loaned out or is hoarded. As a matter of fact there is comparatively little of either done by the great mass of the peasantry. The tax-gatherers understand perfectly how much each man's property is worth, how much the harvest will bring, how much clothing and house furniture he has, and for centuries have made it their particular business to see that it will not so develop as to give him exceptional power. The fact that the general communities have been as prosperous as they have been is, in view of all the circumstances, a marvelous

tribute to their industry and thrift. For the most part, however, all have lived a hand to mouth existence, managing through the summer and autumn to secure enough provision to keep body and soul together through the winter, and starting in on the spring with almost no supplies. Their clothing is of the very simplest; heavy, coarse cloth and cloaks of sheep's wool. The house-furniture is almost nothing; a few quilts, an occasional mattress, a small table or two, a few pots and kettles, sum up the entire property of the great mass of the peasantry in the villages. In the towns and cities proportionately it is scarcely better. True, the Armenians have had the trade of the entire empire practically in their hands, yet it was rare that they could secure more than a bare living. The collection of debts was almost impossible, especially from Moslems. They were subject to all manner of injustice. On the slightest pretext the municipal authorities would enter in and confiscate anything they chose. In the towns there was possible a certain amount of investment in the way of loans, but most usurious rates of interest were charged, all the way from twelve per cent. per annum to five per cent. per month. The risk, however, was proportionate and many a man was happy if he secured enough of his principal, and enough of his interest together to give him a very slight income. The house-furnishing was more elaborate than in the villages, but by no means such as would be considered even comfortable in this country. A few merchants lived well, but the great mass of artisans and tradesmen were poor with a poverty that is scarcely known even in the slums of our great cities. Under such circumstances, to destroy the homes and furniture, the shops and their merchandise, was in itself a most terrible loss. It left

the people without capital or trade, without the means of everyday life. When to this was added the wholesale massacre of men—the bread-winners, the employers, the laborers—the situation was something terrible. Families without number were left absolutely destitute, with no food to eat, with scarcely any clothing, and in some cases with no clothing, with no homes to lives in, and with absolutely no hope of any support except as it should come from sympathizing friends. Add to this the general demoralization referred to in the preceding chapter; the utter despair as the result of the bitter cruelties of the Turks and Kurds; the terrible outraging of women, destroying the very essence of true womanhood, leaving perfectly blank horror to take the place of home life—and the situation is something which in this country cannot by the most vivid picture be absolutely understood.

It has always been to the honor of America and England that they have been in the forefront to relieve destitution, and no sooner did the cry of these sorrowing and destitute ones come up from every portion of the Turkish Empire than it met with a hearty response in both countries. After the Sassun massacre and through the summer of 1895 repeated efforts were made to bring relief to that comparatively small section. Many were provided with food, and a commission of relief was sent by the English to assist in the distribution and help on the general work. A Turkish commission was also appointed, with what result will be seen below. It would appear as if this was something that would appeal to all; and yet the distributers, some of them American missionaries, some of them English consular officials, found themselves constantly hampered by the opposition of the Turkish officials and, most of all, the Turkish Relief Commis-

sion. Objection was made to the distribution of relief, and when relief was given, the tax-gatherer came around to see that the proceeds of relief came back, first in their own pockets and then in driblets into the imperial treasury. A few paragraphs from letters written in that summer by an American will give an idea of the situation:

"Dr. R. joined me at Bitlis and we talked with the Governor, who, of course, was very smooth, though I felt he had other things in mind. The promised letter was not quite as I expected, though the Mush Mutessarif seemed to meet us and Mr. S. (an Englishman), pretty cordially, and supplied us with a guard. Promised tents for the sick were not forthcoming, while people from Dalvorsig were in trepidation from fear of the Kurds and were being pressed to sign petitions of thanks to the Sultan, or, as a condition of relief at the hands of the local Mutessarif, who ended his words by saying that if they did not sign such a paper, he would set the ruffians upon them to extermination. So, with Mr. S., I went down to see the Mush Governor, having in mind also to hasten on the supplies for the sick.

"But, as might be expected, jealousy of the government, local and general—at Mush and Constantinople—leads to throwing about us all possible hindrances. The guard supplied, two men, speak Armenian. One of them is chief secretary of the Mush police, and boasts that he is sent with us to spy out and report all our doings. Of course, we are doing nothing we are ashamed to have him know, only we had put in our protest against two men nominally being supplied when but one, came and he with no gun and deputized from his government to serve as a spy for its purpose, while our men have to feed and serve him.

"We reached here the 12th inst., and soon put ourselves in communication with the Turkish Relief Commission, composed of five members, two of them Christians—calling on them the day we came. They returned our call the next morning and seemed provoked to good works, as we hoped, claiming to be on the way to hunt out lumber for the buildings, in forests controlled by Kurds. The next day they assigned all of 44 'godes' of millet to this village of more than 70 houses, making a gode to about 28 persons. When I was at Mush on the 23d ult., though I did not succeed in getting into the province, I pushed on a scheme of relief through other hands and inaugurated the sowing of some 65 kilehs (the kileh is 20 to 25 bushels) of millet, the near villages loaning two hundred oxen to help on the enterprise. The time set for the oxen was ten days, but the owners have been patient now for 30 days. The day after our arrival we got a few men at work in a small way on the old desolate walls, though there is but one person left alive in this village, and in Sennik, near by, not one. The commission has been sitting here these three months and, so far as appears, has done nothing, save to give out less than £400 of the reported £2,000 ($8,800) in its hands and distribute 185 godes of millet; not a sound of hammer has been heard towards rebuilding the devastated houses. The members of the commission draw 40 piasters, $1.60, a day (in a country where 25 cents a day is high wages). We have come to give free service for humanity, and they now act the part of the dog in the manger. On Monday I was at Mush and with Mr. S. called on the Governor, arranging matters satisfactorily so far as words go, but, alas for empty words and lack of good deeds in this justice-lacking land!

"They make their declaration that nothing is to go direct through our hands, though we may oversee—they are the accredited Commission to do the work, and why should we take the trouble? To this we replied that we had come for work, not ease, and we alone must be responsible for the funds in our hands, just as they are for the funds in their hands, though we will cheerfully consult with them as friends and are willing to show them account of every expenditure, and they may do the same toward us. But they were implacable, boasting of written orders as to how work for all must go on through their hands. At first they suggested, and we accepted the apportionment of their choice, that they get up the lumber while we work at building, as well as feeding the multitude. This time Dr. R. takes his turn at the wheel, and has gone down to see the Mutessarif in company with the Consul (English), most likely to see what the fates are to evolve. There is hope the new Consul may arrive to-day, and Mr. S. had news by telegraph he could leave. This seems to indicate a bit of progress in the reform line, though the flying in the face of our efforts for humanity by the local government, backed, of course, from Constantinople, looks in the opposite direction."

More encouraging was the report given by the Van Armenian Industrial Relief Bureau of its work during that same summer, under circumstances where the Turkish Government were unable to hinder as much as in the more isolated villages of the Sassun region. We give a few extracts, not merely to show what the work was and how it was done, but to give an idea of the need:

"This province would be—if common safety prevailed—a great wool-producing country; while abundant cotton is

brought from our near neighbor, Persia. This suggested a simple solution of the work problem. In response to appeals made in anticipation of certain future demands, some small sums of money had, as early as June, come to us for our distressed people. And on the strength of this money, and the increasingly urgent demands for help, a tentative and very simple beginning was made. A bag of wool was bought, weighed out into pound portions, and whenever a woman came begging for help or work, her case was investigated, her name registered, and she was given wool to card and spin. On return of the thread, it was weighed and examined as to quality: the woman was paid at a rate that it was estimated would supply her with bread, and she was given another lot of wool. The giving of two or three lots in this way was enough to bring down on us a crowd, and speedily we found a large business flooding in upon us—one demanding good organization and a corps of distributers. Cotton was added to our supplies, and all the processes and tricks of the two trades were quickly investigated, and every attempt was made to put the enterprise on a sound business basis. Infinite watchfulness was necessary in guarding against impostors, and in preventing petty thieving and unfaithfulness on the part of those who took work. The medical work had given us acquaintance with the people, and from our ex-patients we were able to select at once those whom our hearts had ached to help to gain a living—those whom sickness had forced to sell everything—and a good corps of helpers was soon organized. Men to keep the door—and it often took three men to do this against the clamoring crowd; men to receive and weigh the wool, cotton, and thread; men for the various demands of the Central Bureau. For the first two months the work

was accommodated in our house, in the rooms used as a dispensary, and we were in a state of siege from morning to night. The long lower hall was devoted to a row of cotton-carders, the twang of whose primitive cards, and the dust of whose work, filled the house from early morning till dark, while a crowd of wretched men and women were never absent.

"The accumulation of thread brought the necessity for weavers and all the processes of weaving had to be studied with their peculiar tricks and merits. The demand was met at once by weavers who were out of work and in dire poverty. The thread was given them by weight, and the woven goods received by weight; and they, in turn, were paid with due regard to the needs of their families. Then to the children and some who were too weak and sick to do the heavier work, yarn was given to be knitted into socks.

"Shortly, we found ourselves in possession of a good stock of cotton cloth, woolen goods for the loose trousers worn here, and huge piles of coarse socks. And the question what to do with them came to the front. The suggestion was made that this work might help and be helped by the Sassun relief work, by our supplying materials for distribution there. The proposition was submitted to Messrs. Raynolds and Cole and gladly accepted by them, and this arrangement has been the means whereby our Bureau could double its efficiency, thanks to having an assured market for all its produce, without affecting the said industries here, which, on the contrary, it should help.

"Our goods are done up in bales here, loaded on donkeys or ox-carts and carried down to the lake harbor. There they are received by the miserable little sail-boats that ply the lake and taken—with prayers for insurance—to the opposite side

of Van Lake, a distance of some sixty miles. Thence they are transported by horses or carts to Mush, the headquarters of the Sassun Commission. The journey takes from ten days to two or three weeks, according to the weather and other exigencies of travel in this land. The entire distance is only about one hundred and twenty miles.

"In this way we have already sent some 2,000 pairs of socks, and 1,400 webs of cloth, to the value of £ T. 216 ($950). A good market can be had here in Van for all our products, and, indeed, we have sold enough here to bring our total sales up to £ T. 258 ($1,156). But selling here has the disadvantage of bringing down the price of goods and injuring the poor producers, while, on the contrary, our trade with Sassun has had the incidental advantage of advancing the price and thus helping the community by so much."

The total number of workers is as follows:

Spinners of Cotton and Wool	373
Weavers of Cotton Goods	49
Weavers of Woolen Goods	22
Weavers of Carpets	5
Carders	9
Spindle Rillers	9
Sizers	4
Weighers, Door-tenders, etc	5
Total	476

With the greater massacres that followed the disturbance in Constantinople and Trebizond, there broke upon the Christian world a revelation of horror and of terror that was even greater than any previous. From every side came the most piteous appeals to the Christian world. Language itself seemed to fail in telling of the situation, and many a sturdy

man and high-hearted woman felt absolutely helpless as they looked out over the plains, into the villages and along the streets of the most prosperous cities, and saw starvation and death staring hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children in the face. Some conception can be gathered from the paragraphs in the preceding chapters. Those need not be repeated here. It is sufficient here to say that everywhere throughout England and America there was a prompt and cordial response. We have to do especially with the work in this country. Committees were formed in a great many cities and Armenian relief associations of one kind and another were organized. Armenian Sundays were observed by many churches; collections were taken in churches, Sunday-schools, colleges, societies and mass-meetings; journals opened their columns for relief subscriptions; individuals collected funds privately; Armenians throughout the country contributed from their slender resources; and the money was forwarded promptly to the field.

The question immediately arose as to how this money should be distributed. The first thought of everyone was the American missionaries. They were known to be disinterested, to be wise, to be impartial and thoroughly in sympathy with the need. But they were in a very difficult position. They were looked upon with suspicion by the Turkish Government, and to a large degree by the Turks themselves, many of whom felt that their influence was political and that their work was directed to the ultimate subverting of the whole Ottoman Empire. At the same time there was no one else. The absolute lack of banking facilities throughout the empire made them practically the only persons through whom relief could come. A single illustration of the situation is fur-

nished by the statement that the Armenian Patriarch in Constantinople when he wished to send money to his own people in Eastern Turkey was obliged to come to the Bible House and secure the drafts of the treasurer of the American Missions. Money sent by mail was never sure of reaching its destination. The Turkish postal arrangements were all at odds, and more than that, the reception of money in any interior city by any except foreigners was merely the pretext for the appearance of Turkish officials who sought to deprive the people of what little they had. Moreover, there were many sections that the missionaries themselves could not reach. They were under suspicion in their homes and traveling was almost impossible. For a time there seemed to be hesitancy on the part of many lest the money that was contributed should not reach the people who needed it. The proposition then was made most naturally that the great Red Cross Society should furnish its aid. Its record, not merely in war but in famine, was most noble. In Russia and in this country it has done yeoman service. The appeal came first from the field and from those who, ready and willing to do all they could, felt that the burden was heavier than they could bear. The appeal met with a cordial response and Clara Barton, notwithstanding her advanced years, rose immediately to the emergency and gathered her forces to join with those already on the field for the relief of the thousands of suffering ones. It was at this time that an effort was made to combine the different relief committees in this country, and the organization was effected of a National Armenian Relief Committee, with Justice Brewer of the United States Supreme Court as its president and Brown Brothers, the well-known bankers at 59 Wall Street, New York

City, as treasurers. Other organizations were invited, not to sink their own individuality in this general committee, but simply to co-operate with it. For a time it seemed as if everything was going favorably and Miss Barton was on the point of starting. Then came the well-known objection of the Turkish Government. Word was sent that the Sultan absolutely refused to allow the Red Cross to do the work. In the first place he denied that there was any work needed; affirmed that the stories of suffering were false, gotten up purely for political effect; and that whatever work was needed was already being done through Turkish officials and could be carried out by the corresponding organization in his own empire called the Red Crescent. Miss Barton, however, and those in charge of the committees, were not discouraged. Appeals were sent through Congress and the President and in an unofficial way pressure was brought to bear by Minister Terrell in Constantinople. The result was that at last objections were overborne and Clara Barton and her associates reached Constantinople. From there they have spread throughout the empire using the means already at hand of assisting those who are overborne, and are bringing relief to the sufferers in all the empire.

To give that work in all its details would require a volume by itself. Erzrum, Trebizond, Bitlis, Van, Mardin, Harput, Sivas, Cesarea, Marsovan, Urfa, Aintab, Marash, are the centres. To them from every direction come in the anxious suffering victims of the most barbaric cruelty the world has ever known. From them go forth the streams of life to the thousands of poor unfortunates unable to leave even the miserable shells of homes left to them. Engaged in this work are noble men and women of high education and

the greatest refinement. It is is no easy task for them to meet the scenes that face them on every side. Regardless of threats, fearless of disease, anxious only to do for the poor people, whose sole return can be a "God bless you," spoken out of depths such as are unknown in more favored lands, they stand at their posts clothing the naked, washing the wounded, binding up broken limbs and soothing broken hearts. Well did Sir Philip Currie, the British Ambassador, say of them, that in the great cloud of disaster and ruin, the one bright thing that stood out before the world was the courage, devotion and common sense of the American Missionaries. And now they are joined by Clara Barton, representing altogether that highest reach of American help for the needy. A grand company, an object lesson to the world of American Christianity.

We can do no better than to give extracts from letters from Van and Harput, describing the relief work in those places. The following was written in Van in December, 1895:

"Dr. Kimball now employs over nine hundred persons, who represent over forty-five hundred souls who are kept from starving and freezing this winter through her efforts and the contributions of friends. Yet she has to turn away hundreds of applicants who crowd around her daily with such desperate persistance that she cannot walk from her workshop here without being fairly pulled to pieces by the famishing crowd. It can readily be imagined that this turning away of applicants is the hardest part of her work. Of this nine hundred the greater part are spinners and weavers, and are paid off by a native employe; eighty-six are sizers, carders, cutters and weighers, whom she personally pays off. On one Saturday evening she paid off these men and opened a new

account with each between half-past four and half-past six. But since the beginning of the massacres of the last two months, her work has been trebled.

"Some of the villagers, many in fact, were forcibly kept within their own boundaries, to starve. Thousands of others, in the scanty rags left them, toiled, hungry and half frozen, through the snows to the city. Dr. Kimball immediately undertook, single-handed, to relieve them. Immense crowds of the miserable creatures throng her court daily. She has the case of each investigated, thoroughly and with despatch, then registers him, gives him a ticket on the two bread ovens she has rented and runs herself, and gives him clothing—clothing which has been manufactured by her own workers, from the raw cotton and wool. To avoid being cheated and to give work to more needy people, she has a department which cuts and sews garments for these poor, which she gives out instead of piece goods. She has just started another department which is making bedding for the same poor. Thus in these weeks she has fed and clothed over 4,800. Every detail of the work requires her personal supervision, so you may understand why she is so busy. She has, besides, several surgical cases. Her workpeople beg to be paid in bread instead of money, so she wishes to open another oven. But just now funds seem to be gathering slowly in England, and fearful of debt, she has resolved to register no new cases till the next mail comes at least, with, we hope, more encouraging financial news. One great difficulty is the scarcity of money in the city. The governor gave out that he would open an oven for the poor, and several thousand were registered, but no oven has been opened by him nor ever will be, though he will get the full credit of such a proceeding in Constantinople and Europe."

The following was written to friends in this country by one of the missionary company at Harput, and gives a very vivid picture of the scenes in that city, one of the great centers of relief work:

"I never shall forget the moment when I first realized (after the massacre) that the clothes I wore and the change which I had in a shawl bag with me were all my earthly possessions. It was a good feeling, not only because there seemed to be just so much less to separate me from Christ and heaven, but because, surrounded as we were in that college, by 400 of our people who were stripped of every comfort, we could feel that not one of them could turn and say, 'You cannot understand our sorrows.' That first night and the next morning after the attack, when to each of us was given a small piece of bread for our meal, again there was a feeling of fellowship which I doubt not did us all good.

"All honor to the brave cook who first dared to go out to the market and bring us something a little more relishing. It seemed to us a deed almost worthy of being mentioned with David's brave men who brought him water from the well at Bethlehem. To be sure, every mouthful half choked us, at first, because of the mental strain upon us, but soon we appreciated the fact that it was our duty to try to live. We were, many of us, sleeping on the floor on hard mattresses, five feet long and three and a half wide. Imagine three of us occupying one, with half of the body resting on the bare floor. But sleep was good. It was the awaking each morning to a realization of the horror of our situation which seemed an evil.

"When the mixtures of feathers, molasses, straw, papers,

flour and canned fruits was cleaned from the two homes remaining to us missionaries, there commenced the work of making bedding and a very little necessary clothing, and gathering together household utensils. At first it was a grave question where we should get any money. The safes of the station had proved no barrier whatever to the greed of the plunderers. Few of us had had enough fear of an attack to try to save money or valuables, or, if we had, the fear was so desperate as to leave no heart to care for worldly possessions. The other world seemed too near for us to have any 'thought for the morrow.' But it was remarkable how, little by little, the market furnished us, not only with money, but with supplies for all our immediate wants. I need not tell you how delightful it seemed the first time we sat on a whole chair, at a table, with a cloth and napkins and with a knife and fork and spoon apiece! Nor what sleep was, the first time we stretched ourselves upon our beds!

"As soon as it seemed safe for the people to leave the College and scatter to their homes, we who had been the touring missionaries, Miss Seymour and myself, hired one room where we commenced to have bedding made for the boys in the school. Soon it seemed evident that this was the beginning of a widespread work of relief for the sorely stricken people in all this region. The work has naturally divided itself up among those who were freest to take it in charge.

"Dr. Barnum and Mr. Gates have stood at the head of the Relief Work. God bless them for their undaunted courage in the time of fear, attack and fire. God bless them for the inspiration of their faith and trust in Him and for their skill and wisdom in dealing with the difficulties of our situation. Day after day, for many weeks, their rooms have been crowded

with people of all classes. Sometimes there is a procession of ragged villagers shivering with the cold; then again five or six Armenians of influence, now humbled and anxious; later, two or three Turkish officers whose present state of mind and heart we will not pretend to fathom. All sorts of things are wanted, from 'Akkul' (wisdom) down to five paras (half a cent). One man tells how a neighbor has gained possession of his bed and won't give it up; another of how a Turkish Bey wishes him to sign a receipt for eighty pounds which the former never has paid, and, if he does not sign, the Bey will burn his father's house! Another comes to plead that money may be given to release one of our school-girls, still held in possession by the Kurds. A Turk comes to say that two or three of our horses have been found and he can get them, for a suitable compensation. Another comes to say that he knows where our lamps are. One man wants to rent us a safe, another wishes to get money and another to give that scarcest of all articles. During a quiet evening of rest at home, in comes a Protestant, full of deep anxiety for his sister in a near village. She and all her relatives have become Moslems in name through fear, and now the Turks insist that she shall marry her brother-in-law who has one wife already! A living death is existence on this earth, to such as these.

"In the midst of all these questions which truly belong to 'Relief,' come long consultations about letters, telegrams, College work and funds. Dr. Barnum may be said to possess three tongues, English, Turkish and Armenian, which he uses at will. To Mr. Ellis falls the work of giving out tickets for bread. He now has some 1,500 hungry people on his list. He also superintends workmen in tearing down or building up walls.

"Miss Seymour and I found the one room far too small for our work. The latter has grown, until we have taken the whole house. Immediately after breakfast Miss Seymour goes there to find the front room packed full of women and girls who have come to bring back the suit of underclothes each took the day before, receive her pay, the small sum of two piasters (nine cents), and take home a new suit to sew. Or, it may be wool for a pair of stockings, for knitting which she will receive nearly sixteen cents. Miss Seymour commences the work of the day by a brief reading from the Scriptures, a few words of comfort, and prayer.

"Later I came from my Bible class in the Male Department of the College and we worked together at the Relief Rooms the rest of the day. Three other rooms in the house are filled with women who are cutting out garments, and bedding; sewing these; filling ticks with straw and quilts with wool; spinning thread with which to sew and carding the wool for stockings. We also buy cotton and send out to near villages, to furnish the poverty-stricken people with spinning and weaving. At first, it was a grave question how many whole spinning wheels and looms had been left by the vandals who had broken everything they could not carry away or burn. From these rooms have gone out over 2,505 suits of underclothes, 104 pairs of stockings, 220 mattresses, 302 comfortables, besides money and native calico for outside wear.

"We have various kinds of helpers in the work; one, our Rebecca, a graduate of the College, patiently sits by us all day long, to write down the names of those who are to take suits and cross off the names when they are returned and paid for. Then there is the energetic Vartar, superintendent of all the cutting and sewing; she leaves at home each day

a little son and daughter, both wounded in the massacre here; the little boy has been a great sufferer, and has longed to go and be with Christ. There is Caspar, our touring servant, who now buys our thread and straw and runs on errands generally. Then Asdur, who was the first to brave the dangers of a ride to Mezreh to send telegrams to Minister Terrell, informing him of our condition, and who has ever since gone hither and yon to hunt up cloth and money, dive into Turkish houses after bedding and stolen goods, and carry and bring telegrams and registered letters. Then Giragos from Hoh, across the plain. His home, shop and fields he has been obliged to leave to their fate and flee here to save his life, or, worse than death, to save himself from being made a Moslem by force. His face lights up with joy at every good deed we call upon him to undertake. He found fifty-three refugees from the plundered village of Geoljuk, the other day, and was made happy by the privilege of dealing out a bit of money to each and one hundred and fifty suits of clothes to take back to the village. It is he who buys cotton for us, weighs it and gives it out to villagers and gives us the account. Then come Sitrag, Mardiros and Hohannes. The first fled from the village of Hoh, where he was preaching, just in time to escape the attack there. The second was one of our colporteurs. He was away at a village and was robbed of all his books and most of his clothing and came here bare-footed and bare-headed. The last is a preacher who, the past winter, was sorely discouraged over his work in a near village and became really ill over it, but is now well and glad to work for others. These three are constantly examining into cases needing relief and entering their homes to see whether the need warrants our incur-

ring expense for them. We are often in sore perplexity over these cases. We are constantly in danger of running on the Scylla and Charybdis of severity and too large mercifulness. It needs the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove to do just right and then we have to run the risk of some criticism, but we know that this must be expected, and we do seek to walk carefully and to obtain wisdom from on high.

"It would require volumes to tell you the touching incidents of this relief work. How many of those dear boys and girls in the College, whose bedding was freshly and nicely arranged for this term by a kind mother's hands, were soon to mourn with her, she in some distant city and they here, the massacre of husband and father. The father and two of the brothers of two of our girls were slain in the massacre at Chermuk, which was one of the most severe and horrible of any place. About 650 men were killed in that small town where are only 400 Christian houses. Anna, the mother of these girls, was three times stripped of all but two pieces of underclothing. Finally a kind Turk told his wife that she would be much to blame if she did not clothe and feed that poor widow and her children. But, fearing worse evils, in spite of all the dangers from robbers and the journey in winter, she made her way here, where we have given her clothing, bedding, bread and work, and I trust, some comfort for her wounded heart. Her husband and sons were not even given burial. Our devoted Churkush pastor perished nobly testifying for Christ, and his wife also braved the dangers of the mountain journey rather than be separated longer from her eldest son who is in college here. We look into the sad eyes of these women and do not need to ask them

what they have seen. Oh! the depths of anguish which only one look reveals and yet they are so patient. God comfort them.

"Another day comes word of an arrival from Malatia, a beautiful woman, with five young children. Last year she was inconsolable over the death of her husband from cholera. Now she tells in the most tragic style of those awful days of fighting; of the surrender of the church in which the Christians had sought refuge; of her discovery of some relatives after having wandered about alone in her flight to the church; of passing out through files of soldiers; of God's wonderful protection so that not a Turk or Kurd looked at her or her children for evil; then, with home and property all gone, finally comes the dangerous journey here and a shelter with her poor old mother-in-law, and our supply for her immediate wants.

"A company of women from Palu came in, who fled from that place of horrors, because defenseless women and girls are constantly being carried off by Turks and Kurds and men are turning Moslem from fear. One poor woman, thin and white, her face almost covered with her veil, in true Palu style, but shivering with cold and nervousness, told of the death of her two-weeks-old baby on the road. The little thing was frozen!

"A woman from a village on the opposite side of the plain is brought, just rescued from the house of a Kurd, where she had been held captive during the three weeks since the assault. She now works in our rooms and we have tried to do all we can to comfort her for her murdered husband and that awful three weeks, but never a smile lights up her face. More pitiful still was the case of two little girls, sis-

ters, who had been carried off in the same way. A brother, fearfully wounded, their only protector, and he was not able to save them from the bitter experience so common in these days of lawlessness. More than one mother has brought her daughter to this city to be under our protection as far as possible, fearing greater evils than death.

"An Oriental woman thinks more of her head-covering than of any other part of her attire. What rags of black kerchiefs now cover the heads which bend low before us until they kiss our feet to beg for charity. Other city women who clothed themselves in silk dresses and sheets, now appear in coarse, loose Turkish trousers and on their heads a common old cloth. They dare not do otherwise, for, if they appear in a shawl, some Turk is sure to say in passing, with a look of hatred, 'Ha! you still wear shawls, do you?' The family comb, even, has gone in many cases, and for many days there was an indiscriminate borrowing of this useful article!

"Very many priests were slain in the massacres and those who have escaped have been to us, from far and near, for bedding and clothing. They are exiles from their homes at present, not daring to return, lest they should be killed. To such we seek to deal most liberally, for we hope to show the true spirit of gospel love and to break down the wall of partition which has so long separated them from us. Henceforth we wish the names Protestant and Gregorian to be merged in the one holy title of Christian.

"One man from a village where we have long tried to find entrance, but encountered bitter and unconquered opposition, pleaded for help most persistently. Finally I said, 'Brother, I do not know you; how can I tell if you are really needy? If

you were a Hulakeghli, (a native of a village near, where we have had a flourishing church), I should be able to tell your name and your circumstances and to trust your word. Now I want to help you, but am puzzled; see what you have lost.' I am glad to say that we found a safe way of helping even that dark village, and Mr. Gates was much pleased with the way money was distributed there by their own people.

"Many have been the wonderful deliverances of our Protestant pastors and preachers. The preacher at Palu was separated from his wife and both were in the greatest peril. He was in hiding in a stable with his wife at first, when the Kurds came in and attacked and killed the men there. Baron Asdur, this preacher, was saved by clinging to two women to prevent their separating enough from each other so that he could be seen. Finally, during another attack there, they were all driven from that spot and he received what was supposed to be his death-blow. His poor little wife sat and wept over him awhile, then fled, alone, for her life, from one spot to another. A Kurd seized her in the street and said, 'Now you are to be my wife!' He dragged her off a little way when she saw two soldiers. She pulled away from the Kurd, crying out, 'I won't go with this man!' and placed herself under their protection (?), half crazed with fear as she was. A well-known Turk in the city saw her, picked up her shoes and veil and put them on, and took her to his house with the assurance that she was to be his wife! Poor child, she was joined there by many refugees and one of them who knew her soon said, 'Do you know that your husband is down stairs?' She hastened down to find him, pale and ghastly, standing in the hall of the Turk's house. The story of how they were ejected from that shelter, as the Turk's life was in

danger if he protected them longer, of their appeal to the Governor of Palu, of another kind Turk's lending them money to escape to Ichme (the wife's native village, on this plain, and a journey of eight hours), and of his flight from there here, clad in coarse, old village clothes which he had picked up, is too long to relate in detail. He was not safe in Ichme, since our pastor, the priest, and many of the chief men had become martyrs and others left alive had become Moslems. The sequel was that Sara followed him here; we gave them clothing and bedding, and a small salary was continued. A babe was born to them soon after they were nicely settled, but Sara lived only a few days, and one of the works of relief done by willing, sympathizing hands, was to buy cloth for the burial dress, and for the lining to the outside and inside of the plain wooden box in which her tired body was laid to rest. In a couple more days he buried his old mother, who had fled from the fearful attack on Hueli, another village on the plain.

"There is a famine of the Word of God in our field, for thousands of Bibles and Testaments in cities and villages have been trodden under foot, torn to shreds, or thrown into the fire to burn; and one of the most touching questions asked us in our Relief Rooms is, 'Haven't you a Bible to give me? We long for a Bible.' We have to tell them that all the great store we had of God's precious word is gone and even Miss Seymour and I have no English or Armenian Bible of our own, only each a little Testament. So Miss Wheeler is superintending the printing by hand of packages of texts of Scripture which are distributed with the work each day, and by Dr. Barnum and Mr. Gates to men who come to them. The boys of the school do this printing to earn their schooling.

"I have said that we examined the cases carefully, to see if we were warranted in giving relief. It is true that there are thousands of cases we can never reach. It is also true that there is scarcely an Armenian family anywhere that does not need help, for with merchandise and tools plundered, with roads too dangerous for travel and public confidence all gone, what is there in the present or future to awaken hope? How are those who are in these circumstances to live? Another grave problem is the difficulty of getting money as fast as it is wanted. There is no credit. People cannot get their debts paid, or drafts cashed. In Malatia, where 4,000 Armenians and perhaps 1,000 Turks were killed, the £50 we first sent was divided up among the most needy and about 3½ piasters, or 14 cents, was given to each person, or 22½ piasters to a family of six persons—that is, about 90 cents. Remember that everything is gone, houses, bedding, clothing, stores of food, shops and merchandise. It is said that widows and orphans wander about the streets begging, even going into the market-place in their desperation, and there the Turks often stand and throw out handfuls of nuts, or crumbs of bread, and laugh to see the poor creatures scramble after them.

"A party of travelers coming from Palu saw a company of people coming down from a mountain toward them. They proved to be plundered Christians, driven out of their homes into hiding-places in the mountains, where they were subsisting on green stalks of wheat and such herbs as they could find. They begged piteously for bread. Who can describe the anguish of this land! 'O Lord, how long!' we cry. May God, in His mercy, move multitudes of hearts to give with rare liberality for these suffering ones. If we get these poor widows and orphans through the winter, what means of living

have they for the future? Can we be too bold in our pleading that, for Christ's sake, all who enjoy the comforts and luxuries of life will give until they feel it, for so pitiful a case? Do you wonder, as we think of the blighted hopes for our homes and work, that we say, 'Is the past a dream, or, is it the present which is the dream, and shall we wake to find the dear old rooms, the mementoes, conveniences, and old, loved paths of duty? Whichever it is, I tell you that we are content, and only know, more and more surely, that 'for us to live is Christ and to die is gain.'"

This story is simple fact, told by a woman whom the author knows well. He has been a guest in those Harput homes, and in the villages, has traveled over those roads, has shared with those pastors the services of God's house. Let his own most earnest testimony emphasize every word of this record of devotion and of suffering, and add what force he can to the plea for help—help ere it be too late.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Partition of Turkey.

Factors in the Problem—Turkey and Europe—Topography of the Country—Distribution of Population—Countries Interested—Russia, England, France, Austria, Italy, Germany, Greece, Bulgaria—Desire for Territorial Aggrandizement—Mutual Jealousies—Possible Solution—Turkish Factor Often Overlooked—Great Difficulties to be Met.

THE subject of the partition of Turkey has been prominent before the countries of the world for fully a century. At repeated intervals the different journals, as well as the statesmen of this country and of Europe, have given considerable space to plans for such a partition. That partition has not, however, as yet taken place, and its possibility depends upon a large number of factors which are often overlooked. It is the purpose of this chapter to set forth the situation as it is, as clearly as may be, not with a view to making any prophecy of any kind—simply to furnish the basis for private judgment.

In any question of the partition of an empire, two factors are prominent: 1st. The country to be divided, and 2d. The people among whom it is to be divided. The first factor is the Turkish Empire; the second, the nations of Europe.

The Turkish Empire has already in the first chapters of this book been described in general. It is proposed here not to repeat those statements, but to gather some of the facts

and place them in their relation to this particular topic. The first factor again is a double one, (1) the country itself, and (2) its population.

Topographically the Turkish Empire may be divided into five sections: 1. European Turkey. 2. Asia Minor, extending from the Bosporus and the Aegean Sea east to a somewhat irregular line drawn from Samsun on the Black Sea south to Alexandretta. 3. Eastern Turkey, including the section between Asia Minor and Persia, and extending south along the borders of Persia and the Tigris as far as somewhat below Mosul. 4. Syria, including the section east of the Mediterranean as far as Aleppo on the north and the Hauran on the east; and 5. Mesopotamia. Arabia and Egypt practically do not enter in. Of these different sections, European Turkey is a very irregular country, including the eastern coast of the Adriatic, Macedonia and the southeastern part of the Balkan Peninsula to Constantinople. It is a very diversified section, with really no distinctive physical characteristics. Albania is mountainous, as is also Macedonia to a certain degree, but the mountains are by no means forbidding, and the different valleys furnish comparatively easy access in every direction. Topographically, European Turkey offers no particular difficulties to the progress of any conquering Powers, the Balkans being eliminated. As we cross into Asia, however, the situation is very different. Asia Minor consists chiefly of a series of high plateaus averaging about 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, separated from each other by rough rather than mountainous sections, but all separated from the coast, north, south and west, by mountain ranges of no very great height indeed, but extremely rugged and difficult of passage. Eastern Turkey is entirely mountainous,

with numerous valleys, some of them of considerable extent, so that they may fairly be called plateaus. Such are the plains of Erzrum and those that branch off from it into the east, the plain of Mush and the plain of Van. The mountains are, many of them, very severe, not merely of considerable height, but extremely difficult of passage.

Passing south, Syria is divided by the Lebanon range of mountains into the narrow coast-line occupied by the cities of Tripoli, Beirut, Sidon, etc., and the Hauran. North of this, however, is a somewhat extended plain or rolling country, whose chief cities are Aleppo, Urfa and Aintab. On the north, where the Taurus Mountains form the division between Syria and Asia Minor, there are quite a number of cities, such as Marash, Albistan and others. Mesopotamia is pure plain, extending from the sharply defined range that borders the southern part of Asia Minor, and extends to a little degree into Eastern Turkey, clear to the Persian Gulf. Often this is looked upon as desert, but there is comparatively very little of real desert, and even the unoccupied land, with a little irrigation, becomes fertile. The Mesopotamian plain proper is as beautifully fertile as any section of the world.

Of these different sections the only two that are not separated from each other are Asia Minor and Eastern Turkey. The line between them is very vague. They are both separated very distinctly from Syria and Mesopotamia on the south, and Syria and Mesopotamia are practically set apart from each other by a wide extent of uninhabited land where there is little to be found except roaming tribes of Bedouin Arabs. These intervening ranges of mountains and tracts of uninhabited country are traversed by almost no roads. On the Black Sea border there are really but four roads that

can be said to be available, penetrating into the interior: Trebizond to Erzrum; Samsun to Sivas and Harput; Kerasun to Sivas, and Ineboli to Castamuni. Only one, that from Trebizond to Erzrum, can really be said to be a good road. That from Samsun to Sivas was at one time fairly good, but is now in much disrepair. Both pass over such sharp mountain ranges that they are very easily defended in case of attack, and a comparatively small force could hold them against a considerable invading army. The third road, from Ineboli to Castamuni, passes over less rugged mountains, but through a rough country, where defense is easy. On the west, the roads from Constantinople by way of Nicomedia to Angora and from Smyrna in two directions, on the north to Angora and on the south to Konieh, pass over a very rough country, easily defended. On the south, from the seaboard at Adana there is a very rough road to Cesarea; also one extremely difficult of passage, certainly for armies, from Aleppo to Sivas and Harput. From Mosul and Mardin to Diarbekir and on to Harput there is a fairly good road, but that is also over a considerable mountain pass. East of these there are really no roads at all, and the passage from Eastern Turkey into Persia is confined to mountain paths.

Topographically thus, Asia Minor and Eastern Turkey are one country, separated from all the countries around and from access by sea, by mountain ranges of difficult passage.

Another thing that must be kept in mind is the general condition of the country. Normally Asiatic Turkey is extremely fertile, not merely the Mesopotamia plain already referred to, but the plateaus and valleys to the north produce the most wonderful crops. Under the administration of the past century, or the past centuries, however, this condition has

diminished marvelously, so that there are wide sections of country practically deserted, with no cities, towns or villages, and not a sign of cultivation, and even where there is cultivation, that is carried on in as limited a degree as possible, because under the oppression of the Turkish Government there is no incentive to increased production. The most noticeable result of this condition, from the present standpoint, is that a foreign army would find comparatively little upon which to subsist. It would be compelled in great degree to carry its provisions with it, especially in the face of the opposition of the people.

The second element in the first factor is the population. The general characteristics of that population have already been stated and there needs to be no repetition. Here it is sufficient to indicate the general distribution. From Constantinople and the Aegean Sea through Asia Minor and through a certain part of Eastern Turkey, the Turkish population is in a considerable majority over all others. It occupies the great plains of Central Asia Minor in strong force. It is found not to so great an extent in the mountainous regions, but even there it is the predominant element, not merely by virtue of being the ruling class and identified with the government, but because of its force of character. In the extreme eastern part the Kurds are in the great majority, and they are to be found in considerable numbers through all the mountain sections as far west even as Adana on the south, and Samsun on the north. Through Western Asia Minor, in addition to the Turks, there are numbers of Circassians and the tribes known as Xeibecks, Avshars, etc. Armenians are found in very nearly equal numbers throughout the whole section, though there is not one section in which they predominate. They are

strong in the cities of Van, Erzrum, Harput, Sivas, Cesarea, Marsovan and the surrounding plains; also in the mountain sections of Bitlis, Mush, Zeitun and Hajin. The Greeks are found chiefly along the seaboard. All the way from Trebizond on the Black Sea to Constantinople, then south through Smyrna, Adalia to Adana, they are in large numbers, chiefly in the vicinity of Smyrna, but they form a considerable element in Central Asia Minor. Armenians are found to some extent all through Western Asia Minor. In no one section, however, are the Christians even in a numerical majority over the Moslems, and when account is taken of their general condition, the fact that they have no arms, have not been allowed to have arms during all these centuries, have had no training in organization, and have had their mutual jealousies and hostilities constantly developed by the peculiar system of government, and by their ecclesiastical differences, it will be readily seen that it is impossible to expect of them any organized resistance to Moslem government, or any effective assistance to an invading army.

Passing south into Syria and Mesopotamia, very much the same condition of things is seen. There are numerous Armenians in Northern Syria, Marash, Aintab and Urfa. In Aleppo and Syria proper, the Syrians, Jacobites and Maronites are the ruling Christian sects, and in Mesopotamia the Jacobites, Chaldeans and Nestorians. The Moslems, however, are everywhere the dominant class. Along the eastern bank of the Tigris to a considerable distance below Mosul, the Kurds are powerful, not merely by numbers, but in character, being of a higher grade than their fellows to the north. Between them and the Syrian coast, the whole coun-

try is dominated by the Arabs, all thoroughly, even where they are not intensely, Moslem.

We come now to consider the second general factor in the question of partition, the different countries which may be supposed to be interested in taking their share. These countries are Russia, France, Austria, Greece, Bulgaria, Italy, England and Germany, named in the order of their apparent interest in the acquisition of territory.

Russia's idea has been made sufficiently clear in the preceding pages of this book. It may be briefly stated as follows: She needs free passage for her merchant marine into the Mediterranean, in order to the best development of her provinces, and also for her navy, in order that it may be kept in good condition. At the best her egress through the Baltic is uncertain, the harbors being closed by ice through a considerable part of the winter, and the entrance to the Baltic is too easily defended by other nations for her to be confident of securing an always open passage. That is the immediate necessity. Beyond that there is the great Russian idea of an empire that shall eclipse all previous achievements of Egyptians, Assyrians, Greeks, Romans, French and English. The future of the Slavic race is to her bound up in her political supremacy, and ever since the time of Peter the Great, she has pressed toward that point with unwavering fidelity, not always with uniform energy, frequently allowing lapses, yet always with this ultimate idea in mind. For that the entire Turkish Empire is essential to her. She claims herself the successor of the Byzantine Empire through the marriage of the daughter of the last Byzantine Emperor to Ivan III, and she looks upon every inch of territory held by that empire as legitimately hers, and proposes to claim it in

due time. More than that, as the defender of the Orthodox Greek Church, she claims the primacy in the Holy Places and has put forth every effort to secure her recognition there. With Russia thus, there is pratically no such thing as partition possible. She means to have the whole. She may indeed waive a portion of it for the time, feeling herself unequal to accomplishing her entire purpose, but the whole she claims, and the whole she is determined to have at some time in the future.

France has no very great designs upon Ottoman territory. Undoubtedly Napoleon had dreams of an Eastern Empire, but it may be questioned whether his dreams have come down to the present Republic. Still, France stands to-day as the patron of the Roman Catholic Church and holds hereditary primacy in the Holy Places in Palestine. More than that, the Roman Catholic Church has extended its influence throughout Mesopotamia in a great degree, and French commercial interests, increasing in the far East, have not been blind to the opportunities furnished, first, by the Suez Canal; second, by the waterways of Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf. Her prompt action in 1860 secured for her troops the occupancy of Syria and a general diplomatic precedence in Damascus and Beirut. That she has never waived, but has rather increased by numerous means. For Constantinople itself, it is probable she cares comparatively little, but she does assert her claim to Syria and her interest at least in Mesopotamia.

Austria comes next, as the Power most closely interested in a share as residuary legatee of the Sultan's domain. The Austrian Empire is curiously heterogeneous in its character, embracing as it does Germans, Czechs, Magyars, and the

mountaineers of Bosnia and Herzegovina. She has the same need that Russia has, an outlet to the sea. At present she holds only Trieste and Fiume, but has for some time looked with longing eyes upon the rich valley of the Vardar, with its outlet at Salonica, which she considers a legitimate addition to Bosnia. Whavever others may gain, it is generally conceded that Austria would look for this at least.

Next to Austria comes Greece. Her ambitions are well known and her desires perfectly natural. She wishes Epirus and Thessaly, and it is generally conceded that, in any division, a portion at least of those sections should belong to her.

On the other hand, Bulgaria longs for Macedonia, and Bulgaria and Greece together would scarcely look with approval upon a slice of Austrian territory right between them. Bulgaria has already added Eastern Rumelia, and the Uskup region and the upper valley of the Vardar would almost inevitably fall to her unless Austria should come down and claim the whole.

Italy's interest lies less in the Sultan's domain than in Austria. She has long felt aggrieved by the loss of Trieste, and were Austria to enlarge her borders south along the Adriatic coast and across to the Aegean at Salonica, Italy might claim that her ancient port should be restored to her.

England is ordinarily placed among the first of those interested in the division of the Sultan's domains. It is evident, however, that her interests are not for the acquisition of territory, certainly beyond the Island of Cyprus, which she now holds. Whether her occupation of Egypt will be permanent or not, is a mooted question. There is an increasing feeling in England that if only there can be some international guarantee for the inviolability of the Suez Canal,

it is far better for England to withdraw her troops, and to content herself with developing other possessions more thoroughly and entirely her own. As a positive factor then with regard to the absorption of territory, England does not stand in the front rank of those who look with eager eyes upon the distribution of the spoils.

Germany comes last, because she really, so far as it appears, has no desire whatever for territorial aggrandizement in that region, and is mentioned merely because of her presence as a factor in the general question.

The question of partition, however, is not by any means merely one of special aggrandizement of the different empires. Even deeper interests are involved in the mutual jealousies of the Powers, and the influence that they seek to exert in preventive form, are in some respects the most potent. While England, for instance, cares little or nothing for territorial enlargement at the expense of the Sultan, she does care very much that Russia should not overpower the Suez Canal. While Germany has no designs upon Macedonia or Asia Minor, it is to her of great importance that her nearest neighbor should not practically surround her, by extending his domains even through to the Atlantic. Italy cares nothing about the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, but she does care about protecting her own borders against the incursions of a powerful fleet exercised and trained in the Black Sea as an inland lake. Greece may have no great desire beyond Thessaly and Epirus, but she has no ambition to be swallowed up by the great Power of the north. Bulgaria has fought too earnestly for independence to be willing to lose all the ground gained during these past years. France will scarcely be willing to see her traditional influence in

Jerusalem entirely set aside. How are these various ambitions to be gratified, and these jealousies to be avoided? That, so far as the European Powers are concerned, is the problem involved in the partition of Turkey.

Various solutions have been offered. The most plausible is one outlined in a prominent English journal toward the close of 1895, which is substantially as follows. Commencing with European Turkey: Bulgaria to have the remainder of the southeastern part of the Balkan Peninsula up to within a few miles of Constantinople; Austria to have the valley of the Vardar, with the port of Salonica, and probably the Adriatic shore, nearly to the Ionian Islands, Greece taking the remainder; Constantinople, with the Bosporus, the littoral of the Sea of Marmora, and the Dardanelles, to be made a Free State, with some sort of guarantee by the European Powers, not unlike that by which Belgium secures her independence. In Asia: Russia to be given full possession of Eastern Turkey, including the cities of Trebizond, Erzrum, Harput, Van, Bitlis, Diarbekir and Mardin, and, if she desires, the entire Mesopotamia plain to Mosul, Bagdad and Bassorah, thus securing an outlet to the Persian Gulf; France to have Syria, including the coast cities of Sidon, Beirut, Tripoli and Alexandretta, and Damascus, Aleppo, Aintab and Urfa; Jerusalem and the immediately surrounding country to be made independent, under international protection, much as Constantinople; England to be allowed Cyprus and Egypt, the Suez Canal being under international guaranties; Greece to have Crete, Rhodes and the other islands of the Archipelago, and Austria to yield to Italy Trieste. Three sections remain, Arabia, Tripoli in Africa and Asia Minor. The first would be left to itself, and Tripoli might be divided between Italy and

France; as to Asia Minor, there is more of doubt. Until the time of the recent massacres, there was a very general feeling that this might be left to the Sultan, with his capital at Brusa, where his line began its reign, or at Konieh (Iconium), the capital of the first Turkish (Seljuk) dynasty. Since the massacres, there has arisen a popular demand that the rule of the Sultans should cease, and two propositions have appeared: one that France should add Asia Minor to Syria, the other that Russia should be allowed to extend her borders west to the Aegean Sea and the vicinity of Constantinople.

In this and in all similar plans, there is an element that is practically left out of sight, and that is the first factor mentioned above, Turkey itself, the country and its people. There seems to be a general impression that about all that the European Powers have to do is to arrange among themselves, and then carry out any plan that they may see fit. The difficulty of doing this will, however, be apparent. To begin with, there is the country itself, difficult of access from the outside, with such topographical characteristics as would render it easy to carry on a guerilla warfare for a long time, necessitating a large army of occupation, and so generally destitute that the troops would require a considerable commissariat. There is also the population. There are at least 6,000,000 Turks, and those who have read the chapter on the Turks will readily see that they are by no means to be overlooked. They are not at all the effete race they are sometimes described, but in the interior provinces are sturdy, powerful men, of great physical endurance, simple habits, and able to live where foreign troops would scarcely find sustenance. Personally they are brave, as the Russians who

met them at Plevna and Shipka can testify; they have no fear of death; indeed, under the influence of their priests, they would throw themselves into the defense of their country with a vigor and a recklessness that would tax the best troops of Europe. The Turkish army may be, probably, is disorganized, yet the material for a powerful army is ready at hand and needs only circumstances to call it into being, and make it an engine of destructiveness whose power it would be difficult to estimate. Account must also be taken of the other Moslem tribes. The Kurds are, it is true, cowardly and easily subdued in regular combat. They are, however, at home in the mountains and it would require a pretty strong occupying force to keep them in absolute subjection. Two and a half to three millions of such men are an element which an occupying army can scarcely ignore. There are, too, the Circassians and Lazes, far bolder and braver than the Kurds, cherishing bitter resentment for their expulsion from the Caucasus, and eager to take vengeance on any Christian within reach; the Xeibecks, Yoruks and Avshars, of Western Asia Minor, who will not readily yield their opportunities for plunder; the Druzes, of Syria; the Bedouins of the desert and the milder, but by no means cowardly, Arabs of Mesopotamia. To suppose that the entire Moslem world of Asiatic Turkey would quietly stand by and see the European Powers apportion among themselves the domains that have belonged to the house of Osman for six centuries, is scarcely within the bounds of reason. It must be remembered too that the Christians could offer little resistance to the Moslems or be of great help to the invaders. A few, perhaps, like the Armenians of Zeitun, or the Nestorians of Tiari, might hold their own in their mountain fortresses for a time, but even

then they would accomplish little. Were the word to go from the minarets of the Mosques, from Constantinople to Bagdad, that the Cross was threatening to destroy the Crescent, there would commence a slaughter not unlike the one Kingsley describes in "Hypatia," when the Goths entrapped the Alexandrines and piled the corpses in the center, keeping time to the weird notes of their leader's flute. In time, the succoring troops might come but they would find the land one vast charnel house, with bones and tresses of hair alone left to tell the story of the races that for the centuries have kept true to their Christian faith.

It is easy, in well carpeted and luxuriously furnished drawing-rooms and newspaper offices in Europe and America, to demand the destruction of the Turkish Government, to lay down plans for the apportionment of the empire, and then to deride statesmen as cowardly because they hesitate to carry out those plans. The Cabinets of London, Paris, Vienna and Berlin understand the situation perfectly, and they, far better than newspaper correspondents and chance travelers, know the real meaning of the term, "Partition of Turkey." They know that it means war, if not among themselves, at least with a race that has never yet tamely submitted to the conqueror, and war in a country difficult of access, and easily defended. War means heavy expense, and the treasuries of Europe are by no means full. Already the cry of the Socialists of Germany, the Nihilists of Russia, the overburdened farmers of Italy and the peasants of Austria, is loud against increased taxation, and partition means taxation. The object of this chapter will have been secured if it is made clear what partition of the Turkish Empire involves,

CHAPTER XXIX.

America and Turkey.

Early Treaties—Some Prominent Ambassadors—American Missionaries—Obedience to the Laws—Treaty Rights—Questions of Importance—Indemnity at Harput and Marash—More Consuls Needed—Naturalized Americans—Right of Domicile Threatened—Positive Action Needed—Duty of America.

THE question will naturally arise, What are America's relations to the general situation in Turkey? So far as benevolent, religious and philanthropic works are concerned, they are set forth in the chapters on Missions and Relief Work. A few things should be said in regard to the relations between the two governments. The first treaty between the United States and Turkey was negotiated in 1830, but not completed until a year later, by Commodore David Porter, as Charge-d'Affaires. It included "the most favored nation" clause and placed this country on a footing of perfect equality with all the European Powers. Subsequently ambassadors were sent, and their number has included many men of eminence, Geo. P. Marsh, Gen. James Williams, E. Joy Morris, Horace Maynard, Geo. H. Boker, Gen. Lew Wallace, Oscar S. Straus, and, at present, A. W. Terrell. All of these men have been on terms of most cordial intimacy with the Porte and the Sultans, and have exerted a strong influence in favor of the best good of the empire. Especially since the Crimean War, on

account of the peculiar relations existing between Turkey and the great Powers of Europe, it has been the custom of the Sultans and their Ministers to hold more informal intercourse with some ambassador, not so closely connected with the diplomatic questions of Europe. Thus the Ministers of Belgium and Holland have at times been peculiarly intimate with the Turkish administration, but probably no country has, on the whole, been more favored in this respect than the United States. Mr. Maynard, Gen. Wallace and Mr. Straus, each for different reasons, personal and political, have been specially prominent, and each received marked tokens of the friendship of the Sultan.

It was natural that their care should be especially exercised for the missionaries who formed almost the entire American community in the empire. It was inevitable also that the most perplexing questions should arise in connection with their work. The character of that work has already been described in general, and it will be readily seen that friction between them and the Turkish Government was very easily produced. That there has been so little of it, is due both to the patience and common sense of the missionaries and the wise conduct of the American Embassy. On the one hand, the missionaries realized that so long as they were residents of the empire they were under obligation to obey its laws. If those laws were unjust they might seek to secure their modification, but until that was secured, the laws were obeyed. Every statute as to the censorship of books, the erection of buildings, the conduct of public service, traveling from one place to another, was observed most scrupulously. On the other hand, the ambassadors made it clear that they were there purely to safeguard American rights, and that their

protection of American citizens was dependent upon the right conduct of those citizens; they, as government officials, had nothing to do with their special work as teachers, preachers or philanthropists, more than with the work of merchants, lawyers, doctors, mining engineers, or travelers. When, however, the natural rights of those citizens were affected in any way, they acted promptly and effectively. Three American missionaries, Mr. Merriam, of Philippopolis; Mr. Parsons, of Nicomedia, and Mr. Coffin, of Hajin, were murdered by bandits, and in two cases execution of the murderers was secured. At one time Turkish officers entered and searched the Bible House at Constantinople, without observing the regular forms of treaty law, and apology and indemnity were given. When books were seized by local censors of a province in spite of their having the regular permit of the Central Bureau, apology and indemnity were secured, but in one case the State Department at Washington most unfortunately overruled the Ambassador, and waived the indemnity, thereby giving encouragement for repetition of the offense. When Dr. Raynolds and Mr. Cole were attacked and almost murdered by a Kurdish chief in the vicinity of Bitlis, he was arrested, tried and convicted, on the urgent demand of the Ambassador. He proved too powerful for severe punishment to be inflicted, yet good was done. So also in the case of Kurds who attacked Miss Melton near Amadieh in 1894.

In general, it may be said that they have been successful in securing from the Turkish Government punishment of offenders and indemnity for injuries whenever they have had the cordial support of the home government. Unfortunately there have been times when the State Department has not

seemed to wholly understand the case, and to imagine that the difficulties which have arisen have been due to the religious character of the work of the missionaries, and that therefore they cannot claim the same protection which would be accorded to any traveler or merchant. This has been a most serious mistake. Those who will read the pages in Chapter X, on Turkey and Europe, in which the first treaty between Suleiman the Magnificent and Francis I of France is described, and which furnished the basis for all succeeding treaties with foreign governments, will readily see that the Turkish Government has always recognized the *right* of foreigners to conduct public worship, open schools, publish books, etc., and their claims to the protection of their own governments and of the Turkish Government, so long as they do not transgress against the laws of the empire. Only as they do transgress those laws do they forfeit the claim to protection. Each case then should be judged on its merits in the same way that similar judgment would be passed in this country. Men innocent of crime should be protected to the full extent of the power of this government, and for all injury, indemnity should be paid.

There are certain cases of great importance now pending. The burning of the school building at Marsovan in 1893 has already been made good by the payment of indemnity and the granting of a permit for rebuilding. There are to be considered the questions as to the destruction of American property at Harput and Marash, and the injury to American citizens in both places. The responsibility of the Turkish Government is easily recognized from the statements in Chapters XXIII and XXIV, giving account of those massacres. There was military force enough on hand in each place for full

protection, and in Harput, the finding of a bomb from the cannon of the regular Turkish artillery is proof sufficient of the complicity of Turkish officials. The American Government should press the claim for full reparation, including cash indemnity for loss, permits for rebuilding and punishment of the officials who were responsible. Only thus can there be any security for other property or comfort for American lives. The question has been raised as to the return of American citizens from Turkey. It has been urged that all leave the interior cities, as it is impossible to protect them there. The immediate answer is, that it is possible to protect them there, as is evident from the experience of Miss Shattuck at Urfa, and of others at Mosul. The Turkish Government has the power, and will exercise it if it finds it must. The missionaries decline to abandon to the ferocity of brutal Kurds and Turks people whom they love, and large property entrusted to their care, or to sacrifice the commanding influence in the moral and spiritual development of the people gained during sixty years of labor. So long as they are at their posts, the actions of the Turks must be known. Should they leave, massacre, pillage and outrage would be continued with impunity. For every reason, not merely of property, but of humanity, they should be protected in their position.

In one respect America is weak in Turkey, and that is in the matter of diplomatic and consular representation. At Constantinople there is an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, a Secretary of Legation, a Consul General and Vice-Consul; at Smyrna, Beirut and Jerusalem, Consuls General; at Trebizond, Alexandretta and Mersine, Vice-Consuls, and Consular Agents at some other places. The only Consul in an interior city is at Sivas, though an unpaid Vice-

Consul is located at Aleppo. When the protocol permitting American citizens to hold property in the empire was adopted, it was evident that increased Consular representation throughout the empire would be necessary in view of the large amount of property held and the number of persons resident in places entirely beyond the reach of Consular authority. Nothing, however, was done by Congress, chiefly on the score of economy, and Americans were dependent upon the good offices of the English Consuls at Erzrum, Van, Diarbekir, Mosul, etc. When the Sassun massacre opened the eyes of the world to the situation in Turkey, special effort was made in Congress, resulting in the establishment of two additional Consulates at Erzrum and Harput. The Consuls were appointed and sent to Turkey, but the Turkish Government refused the necessary exequaturs, and they returned to this country, practically no pressure being brought to bear by the State Department in the matter. This was most unfortunate. Had there been a Consul at Harput, the destruction of property would not have occurred, and probably not a little of the horror of massacre would have been mitigated.

The question which, however, has been the most difficult to settle between the two governments has been that in regard to naturalized citizens. The peculiar privileges granted to foreigners under the treaties have always occasioned much hostility on the part of Moslems and been greatly desired by the Christians. The English rule in regard to natives of other countries who secure English citizenship is, that that citizenship is void on their return for residence to their native countries. This principle has been recognized by this country wherever naturalization treaties have been made, as with Germany and other countries. It is an evidently correct principle,

as otherwise American citizenship could be made use of to avoid military service and many other duties. Soon after the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and Turkey, a number of Armenians came to this country for purposes of education or business, became American citizens and afterwards returned to Turkey to live. Among them were some who studied medicine and served in the civil war as surgeons. There was no naturalization treaty, and they claimed and received the full protection and privileges of American citizens. So long as they were few in number there was no difficulty raised, but others of their nation and of other nations looked on with envious eyes, and within the past twenty years their example has been followed, until a large number of Armenian-Americans were to be found scattered over the country. In general, they did not make their American citizenship known until they got into trouble of some sort, but then not infrequently they were the occasion of considerable friction between the governments. The Turkish Government claimed them as Armenians and Turkish subjects; the American Government claimed them as Americans. Ordinarily matters were arranged by some diplomacy, but it became evident that some understanding must be secured. Accordingly a naturalization treaty was drawn up. In it, however, the Turks insisted that it should be retroactive and include all those who were already in Turkey, even those who had served in the American army. This the Senate at Washington refused to allow, and the result was, failure of the negotiations. Since the commencement of disturbances the situation has been much aggravated. The Turkish Government has insisted that certain Armenian-Americans were taking advantage of their American citizenship to disseminate

revolutionary ideas, and have sought to secure their arrest and punishment. This was undoubtedly assisted by the fact that several Armenians in this country made addresses in many places, in which they used the bitterest expressions of hostility to the Turkish Government. In view of this, President Cleveland, in an annual message, gave expression to the principle that no government can force the presence of its own subjects upon another government, and that the Turkish Government has a perfect right to exclude from its territory those whom it deems hostile to its interests. While undoubtedly correct as a general principle, it was incorrect in view of the treaties, according to which foreigners have the recognized right to live in Turkey and pursue their business so long as they observe the laws of the empire. In case of transgression of those laws, they are to be tried by their own Consular authorities, the Turkish courts having no jurisdiction except in cases of real estate and in certain matters when a Consular officer is not within reach.

At present the most serious question between the two countries is in regard to the right of domicile of American citizens. The American missionaries stand as the sole witnesses accredited before the world, of the atrocities committed by the Turkish Government, therefore that government is putting forth its best efforts to secure their ejection from the country. They also represent the progress of religious liberty and civilization, both of which are opposed by Russia, who, looking forward to the time when Turkey shall be part of her own empire, and dreading the results of American colleges and schools, sympathizes in the wish of Turkey to eliminate the whole influence of American missions from that land. Unfortunately, working in harmony with these,

though from an entirely different motive, are some Americans, who feel that there is no advantage in the missionaries remaining there, and think that to press for their protection may involve this country in complications with Europe.

This is not the place to discuss the general policy of this government towards foreign nations. It may, however, be said that so far as complications with Europe are concerned, there need be no fear of them. There is no need of more than the protection of American citizens in their right to stay in a country where they have clear and well defined treaty rights. That is all that is needed, and that surely no American refuse. If the question be asked, how that protection can be assured, the answer simply is, by firm, decided pressure from the American Government. There will be no need of war, or anything approaching it. It may be advantageous to send some ships to the Mediterranean to give ocular demonstration to the Turks that America exists. It may be advantageous to do at Rhodes or Mitylene what England did at Corinto, but even that will not be necessary. Those who have had dealings with the Turkish Government know well that it will always do what it has to. There is no need of bullying, but there must be decided action.

We have said that all that is needed is the protection of American citizens, that is, so far as the executive branch of the Government can go, but surely the people may go farther. They can give expression to their protest against the atrocities that have stirred the whole world. There is a power in the voice of a nation, and if that voice is uttered in clear, unmistakable tones from every city, town and village in the country; by every church, society and organization of any kind, it will have its effect. The Sultan must respect the repeated protest

of Christendom. But that is not all. England, Germany, France, even Russia, will not refuse to heed the words of America. Along with this, however, should go prompt relief. The situation is appalling. Not a tithe of the awful story can be told in these pages. We have told enough, however, to make it clear that the need is overwhelming. Let associations for relief be formed all over the country. The Rev. Frederick D. Greene, Secretary of the National Armenian Relief Committee, 45 William Street, New York City, who has been on the field and knows the situation thoroughly, will give all needed information, and Brown Brothers, the great bankers, 59 Wall Street, New York City, will forward all funds to Americans on the field. Clara Barton and her Red Cross associates and the missionaries are at their posts. Great efforts are being made to force them to leave. America should stand behind them and support them. Humanity and duty demand it.

CHAPTER XXX.

General Survey.

Statistics of Massacre and Pillage—Where Does the Responsibility Rest?—The Turks; Fear, Ferocity, Outrage—The Armenians; Ambition, Lack of Preparation, Unwisdom of Huntchagists—The European Powers; Jealousy, Ambition, Cowardice—The Sultan; Alliance with Reactionary Party, Difficult Position, Individual Care of Minutiæ—Latest Development of Most Terrible Persecution.

ANY complete statement as to number of victims of the massacres is at present impossible, and indeed, will probably never be made. This partly for the same reasons that make an exact census impracticable, partly because of the general scattering of the people, resulting in the destruction of their homes. It must also be remembered that comparatively few people even in this country can be relied upon to make a correct estimate as to numbers, and inaccuracy in this respect is even more characteristic of the East. When to these general statements is added the terror that fell upon all, it will be readily apparent that exact figures are unattainable, even in regard to places where there were intelligent observers. But absolutely no account can be taken of the number killed in the villages remote from the cities. The following table has been made up from the best returns available, and in all probability represents the facts in regard to the places noted, which are all well known. The figures in regard

to the interior cities include also the figures for the villages in the immediate vicinity, but not those for the remote sections. Some of them were quite large districts. Thus, Van city has not suffered, but the villages suffered terribly. Massacres were also reported from a large number of places, such as Tokat, Amasia, Gemerek, Adiaman, Argana, Severek, etc., but no reliable statistics, or even estimates, were furnished.

Constantinople	Sept. 30, 1895,	172
Trebizond	Oct. 8, "	1,100
Ak-Hissar	" 9, "	45
Gumushkhane	" 11, "	350
Baiburt	" 13, "	800
Erzingan	" 21, "	1,900
Bitlis	" 25, "	1,500
Palu	" 25, "	650
Diarbekir	" 25, "	3,000
Kara Hissar	" 25, "	800
Erzrum	" 30, "	1,200
Boulanik and Khnus	" 30, "	700
Urfa	Oct. 27 and Dec. 30, "	6,000
Malatia	Nov. 6, "	5,000
Arabkir	" 6, "	4,000
Harput	" 11, "	1,900
Sivas	" 12, "	1,300
Gurun	" 10, "	2,000
Mush	" 15, "	340
Marsovan	" 15, "	125
Aintab	" 15, "	400
Marash	" 18, "	1,000
Zillè	" 26, "	200
Cesarea	" 30, "	350
Birejik	Jan. 1, 1896,	200
Total		35,032

Taking this sum, 35,000, as a basis, those who are on the field and best qualified to judge make a general estimate of the entire loss of life at not less than 50,000, and this has

the endorsement of the English and French Ambassadors at Constantinople. This, however, is by no means all that is to be taken into account. There is the number of those who have been forced, sometimes on pain of death, sometimes on pain of outrage and suffering worse than death, to accept Mohammedanism. As to those, reports vary, but a conservative estimate puts the whole number at about 40,000. Reference must also be made to the destruction of houses and shops. With regard to these, estimates are more easily made and the sum total given of 12,600 burned and 47,000 plundered, is probably reasonably correct. There remains to be considered the number of destitute. This can only be estimated something as follows. If the number of killed was 40,000, inasmuch as they were almost entirely men who would each represent a family of at least five persons, this would give 200,000. Add to this those who were dependent upon the murdered men for employment, those whose shops and houses were burned and those who were imprisoned, and the estimate of 350,000 to 500,000 it will be easily seen is not unreasonable. It is evident that statistics as to the number of women and girls outraged are absolutely unattainable. We may then, in the most conservative way, summarize the whole as follows:

Number of persons killed (almost entirely men)	50,000
" " houses and shops burned	12,600
" " " " " plundered	47,000
" " persons forced to accept Mohammedanism.	40,000
" " persons destitute	400,000

These figures are certainly within the truth, and it requires but little effort to imagine what they mean.

The question is forced upon the mind, Where does the

responsibility for all this loss of life and property, this terrible suffering, rest? The answer is by no means simple, though its general features will be easily recognized by those who have read the preceding chapters carefully. The present situation is the result of the mutual action of four chief factors, some of them having various subdivisions. The Turks, the Armenians, the European Powers and the Sultan. We will take up each one of these in turn and state as clearly as may be, in what is necessarily brief space, the relations sustained by them to the others and to the general result.

The Turks. The feeling among the Turks is very easily understood. For half a century they have seen the general situation of the Christians steadily improving, and their own situation, if not actually growing worse, at least not improving in equal degree. They have been taught by their priests to look upon the Christians as "dogs," utterly unworthy of any regard. True, under force of circumstances, and in consequence of certain natural characteristics they have not always treated them as "dogs," still the belief has been there, and only needed the occasion of some kind to call it into exercise. They could not see the slightest necessity of any reforms for those whom they looked upon as slaves, and the repeated statements issued by the Sultans, and the Constitutions and Charters, of equal rights and religious liberty, seemed to them treason to their religion and their empire. They also realized that the time of their advance had ceased. One after another their choicest provinces were taken from them, in Europe, Asia and Africa. The more intelligent among them began to think that there was some power in the world besides their Padishah. The names of

Bismarck, Gladstone, Gortschakoff, Andrassy, not to speak of the Emperors, were heard all over the land and occasioned much uneasiness. Turks returned to their country homes from Constantinople with stories of the grandeur of the foreign ambassadors and the honors paid them by Turkish dignitaries, even by the Sultan. There thus developed an increasing fear among the whole Moslem population for everything and everybody that was Christian. This was taken advantage of by shrewd Moslem priests and plotters, who carefully spread the report that the time might be near when Islam would have to defend itself, and talk of the Jehad, or Holy War, began to be heard. When the placards to which reference has been made were scattered broadcast throughout Asia Minor, the whole Turkish community was aroused. In an ignorant community news travels exceptionally fast and loses nothing as it goes. It was not long before everywhere, in the Turkish villages and even in the Turkish quarters of the cities, there was general fear of an uprising of the Christians, probably to be supported by the European Governments. It was absurd, for not one Christian in a hundred, scarcely one in a thousand, had a weapon, while comparatively few Turks were unarmed. It is also true that this condition existed only in a limited section of the country. The greater part of the Moslem population, Turkish, Kurdish, Circassian, etc., had absolutely no sense of fear. Still its existence in some places served the purpose of the leaders, a purpose that will be stated later on, and helped to swell the tide of anti-Christian feeling which was growing on every side. The outbreak in Sassun served two purposes. It whetted the appetite for plunder and also showed that that appetite could be gratified with no evil results to the plunderers. The fact

that no one was punished and that the leaders were rewarded, was well known throughout the empire. Longing eyes were cast upon Christian shops and houses and upon Christian women, and threatening glances turned upon the owners of the former and the protectors of the latter. If they could be got rid of safely, property and sex could be appropriated without danger.

The massacre at Trebizond, following on that at Constantinople, lighted the torch, and for three months the Moslem fury, held in comparative check ever since the capture of Constantinople, had full scope. There had indeed been massacres, at Scio, in the Lebanon, in Kurdistan, but never was such free rein given to the most outrageous cruelty. It is well known that passions grow on what they feed on. Ingrained in the Turkish character, with some noble elements, exist also some of the vilest. Absolute freedom for the vile simply overwhelmed the noble. The fury of the early centuries of Moslem advance broke forth, with the added ferocity gathered by its period of restraint and the fear lest its last opportunity had come. It must be said that many Turks have protested against this whole matter, feeling it an outrage on humanity and a most impolitic thing, but their protest has been as nothing. They have succored a few individuals, but that is all. The great mass have joined heart and soul in murder, pillage and outrage. This motive has undoubtedly been mixed. Political fear, religious fanaticism, lust for booty, have all entered in varying proportions in different places.

The Armenians. It is frequently said that the Huntchagist movement is largely responsible for the atrocities, at least as furnishing the pretext for the charges of revolution made by

the Turkish Government. How much of truth there is in this, it is very difficult to say. It is undoubted fact that in certain sections, notably Central Asia Minor, that movement operated very strongly to arouse the bitterest feeling on the part of the Turks. On the other hand it is also undoubted fact, that in not one single instance can it be fairly said that the great massacres, as at Erzrum, Harput, Diarbekir, etc., had any excuse in the presence of Armenian revolution. Granted, however, that the Huntchagist movement did harm, and it certainly did, it must be remembered that it was an almost inevitable development. The Armenian nation was growing in intellectual and moral power. The heavy yoke of Turkish oppression was becoming more and more galling. The young men of the nation had before their eyes freed Bulgaria, freed Servia, freed Rumania, freed Greece. They had not read unmoved their early national history, and the stories of the revolutions of the close of the eighteenth and the middle of the nineteenth centuries. It was most natural that they should arise in determination to make a break for freedom, or at least for an improvement of their condition. Europe had made Bulgaria, why should it not make Armenia? This was fostered by Russian intrigue, just to what extent will only be known later, if at all, but certainly to some extent. It was foolish undoubtedly, for the circumstances were very different. Armenia as a territory had no existence. It was scarcely more than a historical name. Boundaries might be drawn, but to make the enclosed space an Armenia would require the importation of Armenians and the deportation of Kurds to an extent almost inconceivable. Moreover, the nation at large was not ready for the movement. It was not unified in purpose any more than it was concentrated

in location. The plans of the Huntchagists were absurd; their threats issued not merely against Turks, but against their own people and friends who would not work with them, were criminal. The great mass of the people, however, had no part nor lot in those plans or threats, and the charges of sedition are even more outrageous and criminal than their own worst acts. The question is often asked why the Armenians were singled out, and why the Greeks were left unmolested. The answer is: (1) that for the time being the Turks realized that the Armenian movement was the more dangerous; (2) that there was no danger of the Greeks joining them on account of the traditional, racial and ecclesiastical hatred between the two races, and their subjugation might be left to some other time; (3) that while the Greeks had a well recognized protector in the Czar and his powerful government, the Armenians relied upon England, which was always a negligeable quantity. The Greeks also have as a rule been far more politic in their dealings with the Turks, less apt to rouse antagonisms than the Armenians. The Armenians thus, while undoubtedly making mistakes, and serious ones, were almost the sole victims because they furnished the most available field for pillage.

The European Powers. The relation of the governments of Europe, in which are included England, Russia, France, Germany, Austria and Italy, to the subject of partition of the empire has been stated in a preceding chapter. It remains here simply to note their relation to the massacres. How far were they responsible for them? Could they have prevented them, and if they could, why did they not? The contemporary observer of political history is very apt to greatly misapprehend a particular situation, especially if it be somewhat com-

plex. Time is a most important element in correct judgment on such matters. Certain things, however, are clear. The Powers might, if they had taken the right steps, have prevented the massacres, at least those of 1895. The Turkish Government, especially of late years, has always yielded to the inevitable. The course adopted has generally been as follows: A demand on the part of the Powers is followed by a general protest on the part of the Porte, which, however, promises to take the matter into careful consideration; then comes a counter-proposal which either absolutely neutralizes the demand or materially modifies it, according to what seems to the Cabinet practicable: this is rejected and the demand is reiterated; with many protestations it is received, considered, and a new counter-proposal presented, to be again rejected by the Ambassadors. How long this continues depends upon the circumstances; sometimes it covers months, rarely a few weeks. At last the demand of the Powers is presented as an ultimatum. To this comes a flat refusal. The Sultan appears upon the scene and declines to accept of any abridgment of his sovereign rights. The negotiations continue but on a slightly different basis. After there has been time to have the Sultan's refusal reported over the empire, there is a change of ministry, the new regime is instructed to accept the demand and Europe has gained its point, at least in appearance, while over the empire the Sultan has the reputation of having thwarted the sovereigns of Europe.

To accomplish this, however, it is absolutely essential that there be united, unintermitted pressure on the part of the Powers interested. Any divergence between them of feeling or judgment will be quickly seen and used by the astute Turkish politicians, who are wonderfully skilful in fomenting

jealousies and in creating disturbance generally. The recent diplomatic history, so far at it relates to the massacres, may be briefly summarized as follows: The Treaty of Berlin and the Cyprus Convention placed England in the lead in diplomatic influence in Constantinople. That lead, however, was soon lost largely through the Egyptian question. Russia was busy with other matters, internal and Central Asian, but kept up a constant intrigue not merely in Constantinople, but throughout the empire, seeking to repair the damage done to the Treaty of San Stephano, especially to regain her hold upon Bulgaria. Austria was occupied with the Czechs and Magyars, and gave her outside attention chiefly to strengthening her hold upon Bosnia, but found time to see that Servia did not become Russianized. France kept a jealous eye upon Egypt and to that purpose watched also the English movements at Constantinople, offering little hindrance, but refusing positive help. Italy had her hands full with her national development, as also had Germany, each being chiefly anxious to keep the peace in general without giving prestige to any one of her rivals. Bismarck's famous dictum, "The whole Bulgarian nation is not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier," expressed the general feeling of all Europe except England, and that England shared in it to some extent is evident from the fast-and-loose policy she pursued during the greater part of Abd-ul-Hamid's reign.

The constant agitation of the Armenians, however, had its effect, and certain prominent Englishmen, notably Mr. James Bryce, exerted considerable influence upon the government to push the question of reforms. Mr. Gladstone also, who had retired from office, joined heartily in the movement, speaking and writing in favor of it. This pressure the

English Government transferred to Constantinople, and secured a general endorsement from Russia and France; Germany, Austria and Italy holding aloof from positive action, leaving matters to the other three Powers as the ones most immediately concerned. While the general discussion was going on, the trouble in Sassun broke out, and all Europe saw that there might easily be very serious results. Were there to be general revolution and massacre, intervention might be forced upon them, with a renewal of the former war, except that now it would scarcely be possible to localize the trouble. Military occupation might be necessary, and what would result from that no one could tell. War was the last thing any government wanted, therefore, for once, Russia and France joined heartily with England, and the other Powers gave moral support. The plan of reforms was prepared, and the usual procedure, described above, commenced. After a time, however, the zeal of Russia and France grew cool; difficulties were raised and modifications suggested. United action ceased and the quick eye of the Turk saw the opportunity, and he did his best to foster distrust of England. Meanwhile the situation was growing worse on every hand. Constantinople was in turmoil, which resulted in the massacre of September 30th. Then all united in strong pressure, and the scheme of reforms was signed, only to be attended by the massacre at Trebizond, followed by bloodshed and pillage all over the empire. The Ambassadors were apparently uncertain what to do. The Sultan, in abject terror—to all appearances—told them that he was powerless; that to give reforms to Christians meant the uprising of the Moslem people, and he was helpless. England indignantly repudiated his claim, it is said, raised the question of his deposition, and sent her

fleet to the Dardanelles. Russia and France, however, would not support England, and Emperor William of Germany entered the lists in favor of the Sultan, claiming that he meant well; all he wanted was a little time. The result was absolute collapse of any modifying influence upon the Sultan, and the Turks were free to do as they liked.

A gentlemen well versed in Oriental matters has said that, in his judgment, England held the key to the situation in June, and, by forcing the Dardanelles with her fleet, could have prevented the massacres, and at the same time have avoided a European war; also, that even in October or November, had she acted positively and aggressively, Russia and France would have been forced to accept her action. Lord Salisbury, however, has stated that this was impossible; that Russia asserted positively that the entrance of the fleet would mean war.

It is evident that responsibility for the massacres rests largely upon the European Powers. Upon England for her delay in enforcing the stipulations of the Cyprus Convention —and perhaps for her cowardice at the close, in refusing to act alone, and run the risk of war. Upon Russia for her absolute refusal to support England, and probably for her encouragement of the intrigues among the Armenians to stir revolutionary sentiment, and with the Turkish Government to gain her end of dominant influence; upon France for her alliance with Russia in her course; upon Germany for the Emperor's refusal to support the cause of justice and right. Austria and Italy can scarcely be blamed, as they were not in position to antagonize Russia, France and Germany; their sympathy was unquestionably with England. Why were all so unwilling to act? Primarily, because each feared damage

to her own interests; secondly, because no one except England had the slightest interest in the Armenians. The worst stories of the massacres have never moved the heart of Europe. Even the support given at one time by France and Russia was not from desire to help the oppressed, but to watch England and see that she did not get too much advantage to herself. Humanity availed not a jot with either.

The Sultan. Probably over no one factor in this whole problem has there been so much discussion as over the responsibility of Sultan Abd-ul-Hamid II. On the one hand, those who have had personal intercourse with him, laud his mildness and benignity, and affirm that it is utterly impossible that he should have had any share in the immediate execution of such atrocious outrages. On the other hand, many who know the empire thoroughly, and understand how completely the personality of the Sultan, if he is a man of marked individuality, dominates every part of his government, even to the remote provinces, claim that it is simply impossible that the atrocities should have occurred without his knowledge, and that he must either have ordered them or have permitted them.

As has already been said, the Sultan has been in a very difficult position. When he ascended the throne, or to speak more correctly, was girded with the sword of Osman, he found himself surrounded by a number of forces. There was the old orthodox Moslem element, constituting by far the great majority of his Turkish subjects, utterly disapproving of the changes of the past three reigns, and calling for a return to traditional Moslem customs; there was the Young Turkey Party, not so large in numbers, but clamorous that the advance made should not merely be preserved, but increased; there

was also the great outside Moslem world, jealous of the Tartar usurpation of the Caliphate, and ready to join hands in any effort that promised success for restoring the honor to the tribe of Koreish; there were the Armenians, calling for Europe to make them independent of Turkish rule; there was Europe watching to see that he helped one power no more than another, and anxious lest his internal troubles affect the adjoining empires. His various efforts have already been set forth in detail. Hence it is only necessary to say that, from the time of the dismissal of Haireddin Pasha, he apparently gave up all idea of progress and allied himself more and more with the reactionary party, identifying himself with the effort to restore the historic austerity and vigor of Islam. A systematic course of restriction of Christian privileges was commenced, with the result set forth in Chapter XIX, on the Condition of the Empire in 1894. There was thus very apparent an absolute reversal of the policy inaugurated by his grandfather, endorsed by his father, and allowed by his uncle. Instead of seeking out for use the best available men for the general welfare of the empire, he gave prominence to those who would emphasize the Moslem interest at the expense of everything else. The natural result was that favoritism and incompetence, bribery and extortion reigned. The industrial, commercial and financial condition of the empire rapidly deteriorated. Coincident with this was increased complaint on the part of everybody. Orthodox Moslems, the Young Turkey element, Armenians, Europeans, all were dissatisfied, all laid the blame at the doors of the government, and for them the government meant the Sultan. If this appears unjust, it must be said that, with the possible exception of Mahmud II, no Sultan has ever held such minute

control over the internal administration of his government as has Abd-ul-Hamid II. Not merely the appointment of the most minor officials, but the granting of the most insignificant permits are subject to his approval. He is a man of marvelous industry and great ability, and nothing in his empire, and comparatively little outside of it, escapes his notice. It soon became evident that a crisis was approaching. The pressure from Europe for reforms and the pressure from Turkey against reforms were increasing. If he yielded to the former he endangered his Caliphate, if to the latter, his empire.

Somewhere, or to some one, the suggestion was apparently made that the dilemma might be avoided if the reforms were granted, but rendered of no practical effect by reducing the proportion of Armenians to Turks and consequent representation in the government. Whether this was formulated before the Sassun massacre is doubtful. The experience in connection with that probably gave substance to the idea that Moslem fanaticism might be utilized in the form of a general crusade against the Armenians in defense of the Ottoman Empire and Mohammedanism. At any rate that is just what was done. The impulse was given under government direction and aid was furnished by government troops. Once started, the conflagration spread. At first it was probbably intended merely to cover the six provinces specially mentioned in the scheme of reforms. This, however, proved impracticable. The Turks and Kurds of Cesarea, Aintab, Marash, etc., were not disposed to stay quiet while those of Harput, Diarbekir, Erzrum and Bitlis were gorging themselves with Christian booty and enriching their harems with Christian women. They demanded their share and, willingly or unwillingly, the government yielded. In Mesopotamia it

succeeded in keeping the peace in good measure and so far outbreaks in Western Asia Minor have been avoided, but that was due probably chiefly to the different character of the Moslem populace or the preponderance of the Greeks, whom, being under the protection of the Czar, even the Turks dared not touch.

Whether the Sultan directly advised the massacres in the different cities, is immaterial. These facts stand out clear and unmistakable: The massacres occurred; it was the repeated statement of Turkish officials and citizens that they were ordered from Constantinople; there was absolutely no effort on the part of the government, except in some cases as noted above, to prevent them; they were stopped in every case when in the judgment of the officials they had gone far enough; the most ardent admirers of the Sultan have claimed for him the most minute supervision of his empire. The reader can draw his own conclusions.

As this closing chapter is written there come in additional statements of the suffering throughout the empire. Massacre has been followed by persistent persecution, less prominent, perhaps, but not less effective. Appeals have come from one section of the country to stir the interest of the Christian nations, but we can scarcely do better than to close with the following letter from one of the largest cities in the empire:

"As to the whole circle of Christian nations that are standing as idle spectators of these infernal orgies, I wonder if they have looked upon the Gorgon's head, or do they not yet comprehend what is being done before their eyes? Do they know that horrible and revolting as was the savagery of the recent massacres, they have been narrow in effect and tame in cruel barbarity compared with the deliberate, malicious and

unrelenting, crushing and grinding process to which the remnant of the Armenian people are being subjected? Do these Christian Powers comprehend that it is the *settled purpose* of this government to prevent these poor people from being properly clothed and fed, and so to make famine and pestilence their executioners in place of the assassins heretofore employed? It is a sharp stroke of business on the part of the Turk to suspend his work of butchery for a time, and allow his victims, by their unspeakable wretchedness, to draw a few thousand pounds from the charitable people of England and America, while he looks on complacently, sure of so much more plunder whenever it pleases him to finish his bloody work? In ——— 12,000 Christians, after having more than 800 of their shops and 450 of their houses looted, and more than $500,000 worth of property stolen or destroyed, have been kept for over three months in daily and agonizing terror for their lives, and utterly unable to do anything to earn a livelihood; 4,000 of their number are wholly dependent on charity for daily bread. In this condition government has repeatedly demanded of them large sums of money for special purposes, and these demands have been accompanied with foul abuse and the most ferocious threats. Do the Christian Powers understand the purpose of the *plan* everywhere being carried out of removing first the principal men from each Christian community? In ——— sixty-four of the most influential and wealthy Christians are now languishing in Turkish prisons, arrested on purely fictitious charges. The Protestant preacher of ——— has been condemned to *ten years* in a Turkish fortress simply for having in his possession a copy of Lord Salisbury's speech at the opening of Parliament. Are the Christian Powers aware that, in these

prisons, deeds rivalling the worst barbarities of the dark ages are being enacted? Overcrowded dungeons, unfit for men to stay in, the most violent and offensive insults, beatings and torture till the victim faints, are not uncommon; live coals put upon the naked bodies of men, sodomy forced upon an Armenian priest, are among the amusements in which Turkish jailers have been freely indulging. These are only *specimens of classes of facts* of which I have the most unimpeachable evidence; and what is more, these things are part of a *plan* which is being carried out in the end of this nineteenth century by a government in treaty with Christian nations, and under the most solemn pledges and obligations to secure special privileges to its Christian subjects."

"Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small;
Though with patience He stands waiting, with exactness grinds He all."

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